

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XV.

March, 1909.

No. 3.

A VISIT TO THE FORUM ROMANUM.

Standing on the roadway that connects the Via Bonella with the Via della Consolazione one may mark at the northern end of the Hemicycle, behind the imperial Rostra, and not far from the arch of Septimius Severus a cone-shaped structure of brick. The eye of the sightseer sweeps over it unheedingly, but for one who is thinking of what Rome was and of what Rome is, the insignificant monument possesses an interest of its own, even in the presence of the most imposing group of ruins that tell us of the splendor of Rome's empire. On this pile of bricks was once erected the Umbilicus Urbis Romae, to mark the center of the city whose legions held in subjection the whole of the known world. After standing for some eight centuries at least the monument itself has vanished; when and how no one knows, but most probably beneath the hands of some marble-cutter or lime-burner. Like it, but at an even earlier date, vanished the foreign dominions of Italy; yet still to-day, after the lapse of nearly two thousand years, a civilization spreading wider than the world Rome then knew, may look upon this spot as the *umbilicus orbis*, as the ideal center of its history.

Back to Rome run all the threads of the warp of our civilization; our science, our law, our art, our philosophy, our literature, our language, our religion, all carry us back to Rome. Roman armies and Roman fleets fought for us the battles that decided whether the civilization of the western Mediterranean should be Semitic or Indo-European. After-

wards it was Rome that took over the civilization of Greece with all its wealth of art, literature, science and philosophy, the conquests of Alexander in the far east, the wealth and wisdom of Egypt, the religion of Judæa, welded them into a unit, impressed upon them the stamp of her own legal institutions and statesmanship, and passed the precious heritage on to the nations of northern Europe to be the basis of modern civilization.

In the days when all this was being done for us, in the days of Rome's greatness, the heart of Rome was the Forum. Like the city itself it had risen from humble beginnings, and like the city itself dark days were in store for it. First a burying ground for the towns on the neighboring hill-tops, it next became the market place of the young city, the political life of which was transacted in the adjacent Comitium. With the growth of the power of the city the Forum grew richer in its adornment, while the humbler branches of business—the hucksters, the fish dealers, and the meat-sellers—made way for the captains of industry, the money changers. The capture of Corinth coincides with a new period in the development of the Forum; to it were now transferred the meetings of the legislative assembly, the Comitia Tributa, for which the old Comitium had proved too small. And so, it was in the Forum that were fought the great political battles of the closing century of the Republic, the battles that center round the names of the Gracchi, of Marius, of Sulla, of Pompey and of Julius Cæsar. Here also was delivered by Marc Antony the speech that for its wide-reaching effects is without parallel in the history of the world's oratory; and with the burning of Cæsar's body—the exact spot can still be pointed out—the Forum entered upon the last period of its splendor. For the meetings of the people, no longer of real significance, were now transferred elsewhere, and the Forum served as the site for the monuments of the Emperors. The column of Phocas erected in the year 608 with materials plundered from older monuments by the exarch Smaragdus, in order to curry favor with one of the basest and most repulsive usurpers that disgraced the imperial

purple, stands marking the close of this period. Then comes the time of ruin and decay, when the Forum passed into the Campo Vaccino, and not even the romance of a Goethe could divine what lay beneath. Finally there is the time of the scientific search, beginning towards the close of the eighteenth century and not ended yet.

Since 1898, when the excavations were resumed under Giacomo Boni, the space laid bare has been doubled. It now extends from the Palazzo del Senatore on the Capitoline to the Templum Veneris et Romæ beyond the arch of Titus, and from the foot of the Palatine across to the churches of San Adriano, San Lorenzo, and SS. Cosma e Damiano; while in depth the excavations extend not only to the level of the imperial period, but have at points been carried down to strata that antedate the periods of the earliest legends. Within this space every brick and stone is eloquent, and it is not surprising that for all but the most casual visitor a single visit is not sufficient; while for the scholar a lifetime is none too long for the study of what the place can teach. The account of a single visit must be limited, and I have chosen to tell what traces of the entrance of Christianity into the life of Rome have been left upon this scene of Rome's commercial and political life, and of the magnificence of her Emperors.

The path from the entrance leads down into the eastern end of the Basilica that was dedicated forty-six years before the birth of Christ by Rome's greatest conqueror C. Julius Cæsar. Standing among its ruins and gazing across the base of the altar which was erected to mark the spot where, less than two years later, his body was burned amidst the wild outburst of popular grief that drove his murderers from Rome, the eye falls upon a building that dominates the north¹ side of the Forum. The massive stone foundation of the vestibule—from in front of which the steps have long since vanished—towers above the level of the excavations, that have here been

¹ The main axis of the Forum runs northwest and southeast, but it is convenient to follow the custom of speaking as if it ran due east and west.

carried down to the pavement of imperial times. From the floor of the vestibule rise ten lofty columns of unfluted cipolino, still bearing on their Corinthian capitals, nearly sixty feet above their base, the original architrave. Through these appears the front wall of the building, dating, however, only from the time of its conversion into the church of S. Lorenzo. It invades the vestibule, attaching itself to the last column on either side, and destroying two pilasters, of which only the capitals remain. On the sides, however, the walls of the cella are still in place. They are built of massive blocks of peperino, but their marble covering has been stripped away with the exception of the beautiful frieze of griffins and candelabra. Even at a distance the origin of the temple may be read in the inscription on the architrave:

DIVO ANTONINO ET
DIVAE FAUSTINAE EX SC.²

As often the case in public buildings, idlers have passed their time in scratching upon the columns pictures of Venus, of Victoria, and of Hercules struggling with the Nemean lion, drawn no doubt from statues in the neighborhood. Among these was found in 1881 the simple monogram of Christ between an omega and an alpha.³ After a careful search, however, I was unable to find this symbol, nor could the custodians point it out, so that it would seem to have yielded at last to the ravages of time. The forms of the letters served to date the inscription at about the middle of the fourth century. The order of the omega and the alpha has been made the basis for inferring the ignorance of the writer, but has also with greater plausibility been taken to show

² The grammarian will note that the length of the *i*-vowels is marked in the second line but not in the first. This shows that the first line is a later addition, made after the emperor's death, when he became a participant in the divine honors he had previously bestowed upon his consort.

³ Cf. Georges Lacour-Gayet, *Graffiti figurés du temple d'Antonin et Faustine au Forum Romain*, *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, Vol. I, pp. 226-248, and Plate vii.

that it was the work of an oriental, of one accustomed to read from right to left. The humble sign—whether meant as profession of faith, pious meditation, or idle scribbling—was the earliest trace left upon this historic ground by the religion whose churches now encircle it.

Almost directly opposite this temple at the foot of the Palatine Hill lies the House of the Vestal Virgins. As it was one of the last strongholds of paganism, one would consider it an unlikely place to look for the earliest marks of Christianity. The chief adornment of its spacious Atrium consisted of the statues of the superiors of the order, the *Virgines Vestales Maximae*, placed upon pedestals that commemorated at once the virtues of the women thus honored and the liberality of the donors. Most of these have disappeared and even the bulk of those that are still to be seen were once upon the verge of destruction. For they were found⁴ in February, 1883—the projecting parts hacked off and the fragments used to fill interstices—stacked like cordwood in the Atrium, where they had been left to await transportation to some lime-kiln. On one of the pedestals that now stands against the southern wall of the Atrium, I read again the well-known inscription:

OB MERITUM CASTITATIS
PUDICITIAE ADQ. IN SACRIS
RELIGIONIBUSQUE
DOCTRINAE MEMORABILIS
C (?) E V. V. M.
PONTIFICES V. V. C. C.
PRO MAG. MACRINIO
SOSSIANO V. C. P. M.

and on the right side the date (June 9th, 365):

DEDICATA V. IDUS JUNIAS.
DIVO IOVIANO ET VARRONIANO
CONSS.

⁴ Cf. Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, pp. 196 ff.

For us the interest of the inscription lies in the erasure of the name. This shows that the vestal honored in the inscription had suffered the punishment of *memoriae damnatio*.⁵ Had any scandal of a nature to warrant such proceedings occurred in the cloister of Vesta towards the close of the fourth century, contemporary polemicists against paganism would have been only too eager to report it. So, as not even the slightest rumor has reached us, it is safe to infer that the crime thus punished was none other than the embracing of Christianity, and we may associate the monument with the verses of Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, II, 528:

Vittatus olim pontifex adscitur in signum crucis
Aedemque, Laurenti, tuam Vestalis intrat Claudia.

Thanks to the vandalism of the lime-burners, it is impossible to tell whether the statue of the Vestal, who sacrificed her worldly interests to her faith, is among those that still exist, as none of the statues can be assigned to their original bases.⁶

In the order of chronology we should next seek for some trace of the altar of Victory, the removal of which together with the golden statue of the goddess from the senate house marked under Gratian, the final triumph of Christianity. The façade of the Curia as restored by Diocletian coincides with the façade of S. Adriano, and fronts us from the north-western corner of the Forum. The excavations, however, have been checked at this point by an unwillingness to demolish the church,⁷ so that search in this direction is impossible, and we may recross the Sacra Via to a point a little east of the temple of the Diva Faustina, where we find no longer humble

⁵ Other instances of this punishment to be seen in the Forum are the erasure of the name of Geta from the arch of Septimius Severus, and of the name of Stilicho from the monument that celebrates his victory at Pollentia.

⁶ Since the writing of the above, measurements made by Miss Esther B. Vandeman have shown that the erased name contained more letters than *Claudia*. It still remains probable that the Vestal thus punished was a convert to Christianity.

⁷ Report now has it that they are about to be resumed.

symbols, nor traces of the struggle with paganism, but the first church dedicated in the Forum, the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano.

This church was consecrated, according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (I, p. 279), by Pope Felix IV (526-530) and probably in the first part of his pontificate, as he is said to have received the buildings from Theodoric, who survived the accession of Pope Felix only seven weeks. Thanks to the adaptation of these buildings to the use of the church at so early a date, large parts of their walls are still in good condition; and, so, in spite of the damages to be mentioned, it is possible to form an idea of the appearance of the buildings at the time of their dedication.

On the Sacra Via stands a dome-like structure of brick, flanked on each side by oblong rooms that end in an apse. These rooms extend further towards the street than the central structure. In the space thus left a hemicycle originally ran from the corners of the rooms to each side of the main entrance. Now, however, its walls have crumbled to about half of their original height—leaving visible only four of the eight niches they formerly contained. The roofs of the side rooms have also fallen, and the walls of these (especially the west room in which trees are growing) have suffered much. The main door, of splendid bronze work, though robbed of its ornamentation, is again in its original place, having been skilfully restored to it since 1879; on each side stand porphyry columns with Corinthian capitals, bearing a richly ornamented architrave, pilfered from some older building. At the entrance to the east room stand on large marble bases, two columns of unfluted cipollino. One of these is broken, while of a corresponding pair, that stood in front of the west room, but the base of one and the socle of the other remain. Of the rest of the decoration of the front not a trace has been found in the excavations. This is due to the exploitation of the site as a marble quarry which was permitted in the seventeenth century. In it disappeared the inscription (*C. I. L.* VI, 1147) which showed that this building was begun by Maxentius as

a Heroon to his child the Divus Romulus; but, by the irony of fate, it was, after the death of Maxentius, dedicated to his conqueror Constantine.

In the rear this structure abuts against an oblong building which takes its orientation, not from the Sacra Via, but from the adjoining Forum Pacis of Vespasian. Following along its eastern wall, where the excavations have been carried down to the level of the imperial times, one may note that the building is of a double construction. The northern end of this wall is built of massive tufa blocks in opus quadratum, and clearly is a part of one of the buildings of Vespasian's Forum. About the middle of this portion is a splendid doorway with threshold, posts, arch, and lintel of large blocks of travertine; at present it is closed with rough brickwork. On the other hand, the southern end of the wall is of rubble, braced with buttresses of opus mixtum. Turning the corner we find the north wall of brick still showing the numerous holes, by which were affixed to it the famous marble map of the city of Rome.

The Forum Pacis is known to have been devastated by fire during the reign of Commodus (191 A. D.), and restored by Septimius Severus and Caracalla. For the building before us, the facts are especially attested by the inscription, that originally stood over the portico on the west side. Consequently, we may see in this brick and rubble work, all of which is clearly older than the Heroon of Romulus, the work of restoration and enlargement. The original purpose and designation of the building is a matter of dispute. Most frequently it is called *Templum Sacrae Urbis*, a name for which there is no warrant in tradition, and which is in open opposition to the fact, that the plan of the building is not that of a temple. More probably it was the library of the Templum Pacis of which mention is made by Aulus Gellius. In this connection weight must be given to the fact of the early adaptation of the building to use as a church. For, in the eyes of Christians of the sixth century, pagan temples were, to use a modern phrase, 'tainted' buildings; and it was not until nearly a century later that their use as churches began with the con-

version of the Pantheon into S. Maria Rotunda. The use of the Heroon of the Divus Romulus is no violation of this principle; because it is quite probable that, owing to the death of Maxentius, the building was never put to the purpose for which it was begun, and also because this building served merely as a vestibule for the church, and not as a church itself.

The name of the child however clung to the building, but was misunderstood throughout the middle ages and down to quite recent times, as the name of the founder of the city. This error was fostered by the existence in the adjoining library, of a mosaic representing the she-wolf suckling the twins. How soon the error began we have no means of determining. To believe that it is as old as the sixth century may seem difficult, but it affords, perhaps, the reason for the selection of SS. Cosmas and Damian as the patrons of the church. The principle of replacing heathen ideas with such Christian ideas as have points of association with them finds many illustrations. So here the twin founders of the city were to yield to two saints, who like them were brothers and were also united in their martyr's death. At least such was the idea of Urban VIII when he wrote in his inscription:

TEMPLUM GEMINIS URBIS CONDITORIBUS

SUPERSTITIOSE DICATUM

A FELICE III⁸

SANCTIS COSMAE ET DAMIANO FRATRIBUS

PIE CONSECRATUM

and he may serve as an interpreter of the thought of Felix.

The plan on which Pope Felix proceeded was simplicity itself. The cutting of a door converted the Heroon into a vestibule for the church; while the extension built by Septimius Severus became the nave. At its rear was built an apse, which communicated by three arches with the older building

⁸ The inscription reads: *Felice III*, but, even if this is not a blunder of the stone-cutter, it cannot outweigh the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

of Vespasian. The latter was also used as a church, and retained its original entrance through the west portico. To enter the church it is now necessary to leave the Forum and seek admission in the Via in Miranda. What is left will well repay the trouble of the visit, although it is impossible to form an adequate concept of the beauty of the church from the present building. For that purpose it is necessary to study the accounts and drawings of Pavonio and Ligorio,⁹ and then picture the lofty nave, lighted by fifteen windows placed high in the walls, which were lined with marble, divided by rich cornices, and ornamented with mosaics. But the pope was not satisfied with the preservation of these pagan adornments of the building; the apse was his own work and it required new decoration. The result was the beautiful mosaic still to be seen above the main altar.

In the center is the figure of our Saviour to whom St. Peter and St. Paul are presenting Saints Cosmas and Damian, who hold in their hands their martyr's crowns. At one end stands Pope Felix with a model of the church in his hand, at the other St. Theodore, chosen perhaps as a compliment to Theodoric, the donor of the buildings. Below flows the Jordan, the stream that separates this world from the next. Then comes a band in which the Lamb of God, distinguished by a halo, stands on a throne in the center, towards which come twelve lambs typifying the twelve apostles. Underneath is the inscription:

AULA DĪ CLARIS RADIAT SPECIOSA METALLIS
 IN QUA PLUS FIDEI LUX PRETIOSA MICAT.
 MARTYRIBUS MEDICIS POPULO SPES CERTA SALUTIS
 VENIT ET EX SACRO CREVIT HONORE LOCUS.
 OPTULIT HOC DNO FELIX ANTISTITE DIGNU(M)
 MUNUS UT AETHERIA VIVAT IN ARCE POLL.

The simplicity of the composition, the austerity of the drawing, and the richness of the coloring cannot fail to impress the

⁹ Cf. De Rossi, *Boll. di Arch. Christ.*, 1867, pp. 61 ff., and Lanciani, *Degli antichi edifici dei SS. Cosma e Damiano*, *Boll. Comm.*, 1882, pp. 29 ff.

beholder. Even though some allowance must be made for the fact that the mosaics are viewed from a point much closer than was originally intended, it is easy to comprehend the verdict that pronounces them the best specimen of this Byzantine art now extant in Rome. The smaller mosaics on the arch also deserve notice, though they have suffered from the shortening of the arch, a fact which two small modern pictures placed at the corners but imperfectly conceal.

The mutilation of these mosaics is only a part of the damage inflicted upon the church by Pope Urban VIII when in 1632 he attempted its restoration. The plan of reconstruction was most radical; the northern third of the building was abandoned as a church and reduced to a sacristy. The western wall of this portion was destroyed, together with its portico, and the stones were given or sold to the Jesuits for the building of S. Ignazio. The apse was then closed and the remainder of the church divided into two stories, while its decorations, with the exception of the mosaics already mentioned, were destroyed. To appreciate fully the effects of this, one must descend into the lower church. There, under the low vaulted roof, among the crowded pillars that bear the new floor of the upper church, he must search for traces of the beauty of the past. A marble altar, standing on some fragments of Cosmati mosaics, behind it a faint fresco, is all that will reward his search. Elsewhere the little light that struggles through the windows, roughly broken in the walls, reveals only cold whitewash, and a few late tombs. One thinks of the marble linings of the walls, of the cornices and the rich mosaics, of the works of art with which Christian piety had adorned this vault for a thousand years after its dedication, one recalls the destruction of the west wall and portico, and the words of Pasquino recur:

Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini.

On the Sacra Via near the entrance to the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, pious tradition seems to have localized the encounter of St. Peter with Simon Magus.¹⁰ The stone on

¹⁰ Cf. Gregory of Tours, Migne, P. L., lxxi, col. 728; Liber Pont., Vita Pauli I; and the Itinerary of Benedict.

which St. Peter knelt was shown with the imprint of his knees, and a chapel was built by Paul I (757-767) in commemoration of the event. About the fourteenth century, however, the stone was removed to S. Francesca Romana, where it is said ¹¹ to be still exhibited with the inscription: *In queste pietre pose le ginocchia S. Pietro quando i demonii portarono Simon Mago per aria.*

Next we may follow the Sacra Via towards the Capitoline Hill, past the temples of the Diva Faustina, and of the Divus Julius, and, turning by the front of the latter building, note the base of the altar erected to Julius Cæsar on the spot where his body was burned. The semi-circular niche in which the altar stands is closed with a roughly built wall of greenish tufa blocks. No better explanation for its construction has been offered, than that it was put up by Christians for the purpose of preventing pagan worship, without destroying a monument of such historical interest. If so, it is an instance, unfortunately rare, of zeal restrained from iconoclasm.

Making our way through what is left of the arch of Augustus, and past the eastern side of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, we come to the Lacus Iuturnæ. The pool is fed by two springs that fill to a depth of a little more than six feet a basin something over sixteen feet square. The limits of the basin are marked by sills of travertine that once supported a railing, and in the center of the water rises an oblong base of *opus reticulatum*. Although the marble lining of the basin is now gone, and the remains, which were discovered in 1900, date only from a reconstruction of imperial times, the spot is of especial interest for its association with the early legends of the city. The temple opposite was said to have been vowed to Castor by Aulus at the battle of Lake Regillus, the battle that made secure the foundations of the Republic. English-speaking visitors will also recall Macaulay's description of how the great

¹¹ At the time of my visit the building was closed on account of the construction of the Forum Museum. Huelsen locates here the traditional scene of the encounter.

Twin Brethren brought the news of the victory to Rome and how,

“When they drew nigh to Vesta
They vaulted down amain
And washed their horses in the well
That springs by Vesta’s fane.”

That the nymph of this pool received worship from the time of the occupation of the neighboring hilltops on, there is no reason to doubt; but at what time she was identified with Iuturna is uncertain. Servius tells us that the latter was the goddess of a health-giving fountain in Latium near the river Numicus. Her worship at this spot is attested by its representation on coins at the beginning of the first century B. C. and must be older than the close of the first Punic war when Lutatius Catulus dedicated to Iuturna a temple in the Campus Martius. The veneration in which the nymph was held, is also shown by the fact, that the poets of the Augustan court, represent her as the sister of Turnus, the opponent of Aeneas.

In the present connection, our especial interest in the spot lies in the fact, that it was the scene of a pagan worship, that held on with remarkable tenacity in the face of the triumph of Christianity. That the great Twin Brethren, who help in battle and storm, should also be helpers in sickness, would be expected by any one who is acquainted with their Hindu counterparts, the *Agvins*. The function, though slightly attested in Greece, seems to have been deeply implanted in the popular imagination, and here we find them as healers associated with the health-giving Iuturna and with Aesculapius, whose broken statue has again been set up in the room behind the pool. Christianity was no longer a young religion before it could stop the belief in the health-giving properties of these waters. The proof is to be found in the mediæval vases found in the pool and now preserved at its rear.

Many tourists toss, somewhere between jest and earnest, a soldo into the Trevi Fountain to ensure their return to Rome. The performance now lacks all ceremony, but Crawford’s description may be quoted to show that, even a few years back,

it was surrounded with the characteristic practices of magic. "For they say," he writes in *Ave Roma Immortalis*, p. 146, "that whoever will go to the great fountain, when the high moon rays dance upon the rippling water, and drink, and toss a coin far out into the middle, in offering to the genius of the place, shall surely come back to Rome again, old or young, sooner or later." A friend who is acquainted with Roman traditions, described the purpose of the ceremony to me, as if it were a charm to secure prosperity, especially good health, while upon a journey. Such charms are among the common-places of magic rites, and it does not seem an unlikely development that, after the closing of the pool of Iuturna, the belief in the efficacy of her waters should have been transferred to the Aqua Virgo of the Trevi Fountain. With the decline of superstition the practice would limit itself to a special precaution against the danger of death upon a journey. And finally the charm, that would ensure the safe return of the Roman traveller to Rome, could easily pass into a means of compelling fate to grant the boon, that all, who have once visited Rome, crave.

A little to the south and east of the Lacus Iuturnae is a square room, the original purpose of which is unknown. The entrance in the west wall faces a large apse, and various niches are contained in the walls which are of good brickwork. The interest of the building lies in its frescoes, from the most prominent of which it takes its present designation of the Oratory of the Forty Martyrs. The history of these martyrs of Sebaste is too well-known to Catholics to require repetition here. The representation of their martyrdom is the subject of the fresco in the apse.

The background of the base is divided by red stripes, lined with black lines, into five panels of which three are yellow and two pink. Above is a band of blue representing the water, which comes to the knees of the martyrs. Of the figures little is left; towards the right eight heads are preserved, and we can make out that the costume of the saints consisted merely of aprons, alternately red and yellow, that fell from their

waists to their knees. On the bank can be seen the apostate entering the warm bathhouse; and the drawing of this figure gives a favorable impression of the ability of the frescoer. The soldier who was to take his place has suffered more, as only his head, spear, shield, and feet remain. We can see, however, that he was dressed in yellow and represented as seated on the bank. This fresco is the second layer of the decoration of the apse; the first is visible only at the top, where a richly colored frieze may be seen. To the right of the apse, faint traces of three layers of frescoes may be distinguished. The last shows a band about half-way up the wall, from which hangs a tapestry, the folds being marked with red and black lines. This layer is better preserved to the left of the apse, where there were three circular medallions, enclosing crosses from the arms of which hung crowns. At the intersection of the arms of the cross in the central medallion is a picture of Our Saviour, in that next to the apse was a similar representation of the Blessed Virgin, which has fallen since the excavation; while of the third medallion only faint traces were found. The space beneath these medallions is occupied by a lamb and peacock.

On the left wall is a dado of tapestry that may be followed in faint traces on the entrance wall. Above it is another representation of the Forty Martyrs. In spite of the badly damaged condition of the fresco, we can see that it represented the saints in the enjoyment of their reward; for now they are clothed in full robes, of which red and yellow are again the predominant colors, and crowned with halos. The frescoes on the right wall, in spite of the matting coverings, have faded beyond the possibility of recognition. Those who were fortunate enough to see them immediately after their discovery, have identified the subject as the Temptation of St. Anthony.

The Oratory of the Forty Martyrs is closely connected with the church of S. Maria Antiqua, and the question of the date of its establishment depends on the dating of the latter building. The reason of the selection of the Forty Martyrs as its patron saints is also not clear. The story of their martyrdom, beautiful in its simplicity, admirable in its fortitude was sure

to attract the devotion of the faithful. But it is perhaps not by mere chance, that we find this Armenian lake, hallowed by the death of the saints, depicted almost by the side of the Lacus Iuturnae, and that the Oratory of these soldiers of the cross is facing the temple of the Twin Brethren 'who came to fight before the ranks of Rome.'

The southern wall of the Oratory, is a prolongation of a row of pillars that once bore a colonnade, which ran along the side of the Temple of Augustus, and the front of an adjoining building. Crossing this colonnade we enter a large court, which attracts attention chiefly by reason of the large basin (82 x 29½ feet) that runs obliquely from it, under its southern wall, and into the adjoining room. Evidently this was once the basin of an impluvium, and judging from its size, the impluvium of some palace. Most probably we have before us a trace of the work of the mad Caligula, who extended the palace of Tiberius from the Palatine out into the Forum, until the Temple of Castor and Pollux served as its vestibule. Three doors lead into the adjoining building, where we come first to an open space, almost square, surrounded by porticos with roofs which are supported by four brick pillars and four columns of granite. Beyond this quadriporticus lie three rooms of which the central one is considerably the larger. Both situation and plan of the building combine to render certain its identification with the Library of the Temple of Augustus,¹² which was originally built by Tiberius, destroyed in the fire of Nero and restored by Domitian.

We, however, are especially interested in its adaptation to a Christian church. For this purpose little change was required; indeed it is surprising to note how closely the ground plan of the building corresponds to that of a Greek basilica. The central space when roofed—it is not certain that this space was originally left open—became the nave, the side porticos the aisles, and the south portico the transept. The central room enlarged ¹³ by the building of an apse formed the chancel,

¹² Cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 43; Suet, *Tib.*, 74; Martial, xii, 3. 7.

¹³ This was not done immediately.

while the smaller room to the left served as a chapel. The room to the right was devoted to the same purpose or used as a sacristy. An oblong choir—*schola cantorum*—was built, taking up almost the entire nave and extending into the transept. The remnants of its walls are of interest, as showing how recklessly works of art were employed for the commonest building materials. Besides fragments of porphyry and marble, I noted the torso of a statue of a youth, a block of rough amethyst as large as a child's head, a relief probably from the Temple of Castor and Pollux, a Corinthian capital, and the lower part of another statue.

But it is the decoration of the church that forms at once the greatest attraction to the sight-seer and the greatest increase of our knowledge. Previous to the unearthing of S. Maria Antiqua in the spring of 1900, our knowledge of the mural art of the sixth to the tenth centuries was derived chiefly from mosaics in a few favored churches. From these ruins it is now possible to gather a concept of the general scheme of decoration of a church, such as the mass of the faithful used for their devotions. It is also interesting to note the blending of Greek and Latin influences. The art is Byzantine, but subject to the effects of its surroundings; the saints honored come from both the west and the east of the church, and the inscriptions that identify them are composed sometimes in Greek, sometimes in Latin, while the church itself is a compromise between the Greek type of the consistent carrying through of a single scheme of decoration, and the western type, where numerous side chapels receive each a separate treatment.

Although the original pavement of *opus spicatum* is still in good condition, it was overlaid partly with colored marble, partly with grey travertine, and in the transept with mosaic. The walls and pillars were adorned freely with frescoes that were frequently renewed. Space forbids any detailed description of them, but the reader may be referred to the paper by G. McN. Rushforth, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I, 1-123.

In the left aisle the lower portion of the wall is covered with

a representation of tapestry hangings, above which is a picture of our Lord seated on a throne and surrounded by twenty of His saints, each of whom has his name written in Greek. Still higher are two rows of oblong pictures representing scenes from the Old Testament, the subject of which is explained in Latin inscriptions. These were balanced in the right aisle by similar representations from the New Testament, but unfortunately the decoration of this aisle is in very poor condition. In the nave frescoes may be seen on the wall of the *schola cantorum* and on the pillars, among which the picture of St. Solomon, on the southwesternmost pillar, is of especial beauty. The best preserved frescoes, however, are in the chancel and the chapel to its left. The sides of the chancel show again the tapestry dado, this time surmounted by medallions containing on a yellow background the heads of apostles, above which are pictures from the New Testament. The rear wall is of especial interest, because it shows the successive stages of the adornment of the room.

In the apse there is a figure of Our Saviour standing and surrounded by cherubim, while His Blessed Mother presents to him Pope Paul I (757-767), who is designated as still living by the addition of a square blue nimbus. An inscription of John VII (705-707) is all that can here be seen of the under layer. Above the apse is a representation of the crucifixion, forming the climax to the series of illustrations of the New Testament on the side walls. This seems to have been the only adornment received by this portion of the wall, but on each side of the apse three layers of frescoes may be traced. The first, which was prior to the construction of the apse, represented the Blessed Virgin, robed much like a Byzantine empress, seated on a throne, and holding the Infant Jesus. Beneath was an imitation of richly colored marbled incrustation. The second layer shows to the right of the apse an Annunciation, unfortunately in very poor preservation. Little remains except the heads of the Blessed Virgin and the angel Gabriel, but the beauty of the latter surpasses in artistic perfection all the frescoes of the church. To the left of the apse

are visible two fathers of the church who were balanced by two corresponding figures to the right of the apse. Each carried in his hand a scroll on which stood a Greek inscription; these have been identified, and all prove to be among the *testimonia patrum* quoted in the acts of the Lateran Council (649), and thus furnish a definite date for these frescoes.

The third layer, which is contemporary with the decorations of the side walls, was arranged in bands. At the bottom was the usual dado of tapestry, and above it in white letters on a red background: *Sanctae Dei genitrici semperque virgini Mariae*. This inscription, of which only a portion remains, was completed on the right side of the apse by the name of the dedicant. Here the plastering had fallen away but fortunately we can still identify the donor from other sources. Above the inscription probably stood four Fathers of the Church, and above these four bishops with nimbi. The one on the right is designated as Pope Martin I (649-655), while a square blue nimbus marks the figure on the extreme left, as that of the reigning pontiff. His name has crumbled away, but as he must be later than Martin I and before Paul I (cf. above the description of the frescoes of the apse), he is certainly to be identified with John VII (705-707), of whom the *Liber pontificalis* says: *Basilicam itaque sanctae Dei genitricis qui (!) Antiqua vocatur pictura decoravit, illicque ambonem noviter fecit*. Above may be seen a crowd of people adoring Our Saviour upon the cross, another band of inscriptions taken from the Messianic prophecies, and finally a group of angels filling the space beside the crucifixion.

The frescoes of the side chapel have been far better preserved as the roof of this room has never fallen. On the side walls is depicted in detail the martyrdom of St. Quiricus and his mother St. Julitta, each scene being accompanied by a Latin inscription. A niche on the rear wall has preserved for us in especially good condition a Crucifixion which is at once the most interesting and the most beautiful of these frescoes. Our Saviour, clad in a long, grey garment, is represented as still living; His head is surrounded with a nimbus,

which contains a cross, and each of His feet is nailed separately to the cross in the Greek fashion. The inscription above His head is in Greek, though the designations of the other characters are in Latin. To the left of the cross is Longinus, piercing Our Saviour's side with a spear, and to the right a soldier offering Him the vinegar. In the right foreground is St. John, carrying in his left hand a copy of the Gospels and with his right hand raised in benediction. His posture and the absence of emotion from his features show that the artist has taken a separate figure of the saint and added it to his picture without attempting to adapt it to its new surroundings. Of the corresponding figure of the Blessed Virgin this is only partially true, as she is slightly turned towards her Divine Son, and there is an attempt to represent her grief both in her features and her attitude. Beneath the niche is a row of figures, the Blessed Virgin in the center seated on a throne with Sts. Peter and Paul standing on either side, next to whom are Sts. Quiricus and Julitta, while the row is closed by two figures who are marked as living. The one on the left is Pope Zacharias (741-752), while on the right is the donor of the paintings, Theodotus, the uncle of Pope Hadrian I, holding in his arms a model of the church he had adorned. The accompanying inscription refers to it as the church *Sanctae Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariae quae appellatur antiqua* and thus precludes any controversy about the identity of the church. Among the other frescoes of the chapel may be mentioned, that on the front wall where a man, probably Theodotus, holding two candles, kneels before Sts. Quiricus and Julitta, and the representation of St. Armen-tius and three women, with the touchingly simple inscription: *quorum nomina Deus scit*.

Of the date of the conversion of the building to a church we have no record. Marucchi assumes the earliest possible date the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, but the monuments themselves point to a later period. The last fresco in the apse was the work of Paul I (757-765), this was superimposed upon a fresco of John VII (705-707) which

in turn covered a fresco completed shortly after the Lateran Council of 649. Beneath this lies another fresco, and if we allow to it the same time as its successors, we reach the conclusion that the decoration of the church began about 600. The building may, of course, have been in use for a time before the decoration began. But, as no object can possibly be connected with the church that is of an earlier date than the inscription of Amentius, the goldsmith, which is dated 572,¹⁴ it is extremely unlikely, that the conversion of the building into a church took place before 550 A. D. Of the later history of the building the *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 14, records of Leo III (795-816) that he erected in this church: *super altare maiore cyburium ex argento purissimo pens. lib. ccxii*. Not long after, perhaps in the earthquake of 847, the ruins of the palace of Tiberius came crashing down from the Palatine and overwhelmed the church. Leo IV then transferred the title of Sancta Maria Antiqua to a church (now S. Francesca Romana), which he built on the Sacra Via in the ruins of the Templum Veneris et Romae, but popular usage fastened on the new church the name of S. Maria Nuova. The story of the change is to be found in the *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 158: *Ecclesiam autem Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariae que (!) primitus Antiqua nunc autem Nova vocatur quam dominus Leo IV papa a fundamentis construxerat, sed picturis eam minime decoraverat, iste beatissimus praesul (i. e. Nicholas I) pulchris ac variis fecit depingi coloribus*.

The outer court of the old church was, however, accessible and continued in use, though with increasing difficulty, until, probably after the sack of the city by the Normans in 1084, the building was finally abandoned. The site now acquired the reputation of being haunted, and was known as the Infernus. With it was associated a Christianized adaptation of the early legend of Marcus Curtius' sacrifice of his life in the abyss, that had opened in the Forum at the spot where the foundations of the Lacus Curtius may still be seen. Con-

¹⁴ The extremely interesting sarcophagus of the early fourth century found here was used a second time.

sequently, there was built here in the thirteenth century, a church entitled *Sancta Maria libera nos a poenis Inferni* or more shortly S. Maria Liberatrice, the demolition of which was the price that we had to pay for the recovery of S. Maria Antiqua.

The history of this church has already carried us far past the period of the entrance of Christianity into the Forum, and we must discontinue, although the story of the Forum under the control of Christianity is an inviting chapter of its history.

GEORGE M. BOLLING.

EARLY PRINTING IN IRELAND.

I. SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

To the student of history it is by no means surprising that, in the distracted condition of Ireland during the last half of the fifteenth century and the whole of the sixteenth, the arts of peace did not make much progress at that period in that country. The remarkable lawlessness that prevailed during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III; the turmoil and party strife engendered by the appearance of two impostor-claimants to the throne of Henry VII in the persons of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck; the grievances represented by "coyne and livery" and "black rent," coupled with the suppression of the monasteries and the confiscation of church lands, under Henry VIII; the bitterness of sectarianism during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary; the terrible persecutions and confiscations which followed the Desmond rebellions and the revolt of Ulster, and the various atrocities which are veiled under the phrase "the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland"—all tended to keep the quondam island of saints and scholars, the sometime University of Europe, from profiting by and sharing in the advancing civilization of the times.

Scarcely a greater proof of this backwardness could be found than the fact that, despite the wonderful impetus which the invention of printing by movable types had given in most European countries to the production, multiplication, and dissemination of books, a period of some seventy-four years elapsed between the date of the introduction of printing into England by Caxton and the appearance of the first book printed in Ireland. That a printing press was set up even then would be, the condition of the country always borne in mind, a cause of some wonder, did we not know that its establishment was due to the political and religious exigencies of the party of

ascendancy rather than to any enthusiasm on the part of the nation at large for the new art.

Despite some speculative reasons that have been advanced to prove that printing was done in Ireland at an earlier date, it is now, in the absence of any actual records, generally accepted that the first Irish printing press was set up in Dublin in 1550, in the reign of Edward VI, and that its earliest production made its appearance in the following year. The title of this work was *The Boke of the common praier and administration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England*. This book was a verbal reprint of Grafton's edition of *The Book of Common Prayer*—the First Prayer Book of Edward VI—and bears for colophon *Imprinted by Humfrey Powell, printer to the Kynges Maiestie in his Highnesse realme of Ireland, dwellinge in the citee of Dublin in the great toure by the Crane. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, anno Domini MDLI*. This work is described by Dr. Ruty, of Dublin, in a letter of June 28th, 1744, to Dr. William Clark, of London, as a large quarto or rather folio in black letter; by Dr. Cotton, writing in 1832, it is set down as "a folio, a book of very great rarity," and he adds that "a fine and perfect copy may be seen in the library of Trinity College, Dublin." There is no copy in the British Museum, but in Emanuel College, Cambridge, there is a copy which at one time was the property of Archbishop Sancroft (1616-1693). The Trinity College copy measures 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 7 inches; that in Emanuel College is 11 $\frac{3}{20}$ by 7 $\frac{3}{10}$ inches.

The Book of Common Prayer has had many vicissitudes. It is to a large extent a translation of the Catholic Liturgy, from the Breviary, the Missal, the Ritual or Manual, and the Pontifical, with the omission or alteration of those parts which were objectionable to the reformers or which in their superior wisdom they deemed superstitious, and the substitution or addition of other forms instead. Already in 1540, during the reign of Henry VIII, the liturgy had been revised by a committee of divines, and their work, further revised by a Convocation in

1543, appeared in the latter year under the title of *The King's Primer*. As a matter of fact, this was the first English Book of Common Prayer. That title, however, is usually given to the liturgy which was the work of Cranmer, Ridley, and eleven other divines, and which, fully sanctioned by Church and State, came into use on the feast of Pentecost in 1549. This First Prayer Book of Edward VI, which Powell reprinted at Dublin in 1551, differed materially from the King's Primer. It contained offices for Communion in both kinds, with offices for Sundays and Holydays, for Baptism, Confirmation, and Burial; and prescribed Prayers for the Dead and the use of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, Consecration, Confirmation, Marriage, and the Visitation of the Sick. In a second edition, in 1550, the ordination services were added. A Calvinistic feeling was, however, growing, and to meet this, Cranmer, with the aid of Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, prepared a new version, in which there were several alterations and additions and several noteworthy omissions, among them being the omission of certain prayers for the dead. This liturgy, sanctioned by Parliament if not also by Convocation, came into operation on the feast of All Saints in 1552, and is known as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. It marks the highest point of Puritanism ever attained by the liturgy of the English Church. In Mary's reign, the English Prayer Book was banned, and the Latin Missal substituted. This in turn was set aside by Parliament under Elizabeth, and in 1559 the third Book of Common Prayer was published. It was based on the Second Book of Edward VI, with alterations rather in a Catholic direction. The liturgy was further revised in the reign of James I as the result of the Hampton Court Conference, and the fourth Book of Common Prayer was published in 1604. A translation of this book into Irish, without the Psalms, appeared in 1608, and reprints of it in English were made in Dublin in 1621 and in 1637. In the last-named year the Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland, generally known as Laud's Book, was published at Edinburgh. The attempt to force its adoption on Scotland produced the Solemn League and Cove-

nant with all its momentous consequences. The 1604 edition remained current in England until 1643, when its use was entirely forbidden by the Long Parliament, and from 1645 until 1661 it could not be employed unless at the risk of dire pains and penalties. On the restoration of Charles II a number of Episcopalian and Presbyterian divines met at the Palace of the Savoy in London—forming what is known as the Savoy Conference—for the purpose of revising the Book of Common Prayer; but, though they sat for four months, the points of difference were too many and too acute to admit of any agreement. The Episcopalian party, however, decided on some changes, which both Convocation and Parliament sanctioned, and the new version, the fifth Book of Common Prayer, appeared in 1662. This was the last edition in which any change was made by authority of Church or State in the liturgy of the Church of England, although it is true that certain services were discontinued by the late Queen Victoria by Order in Council, and that sundry slight changes have been effected in comparatively recent years. On account of a clause in the Act of Conformity, 13, Car. II [1662] requiring every Dean and Chapter in England and Wales to obtain under the Great Seal of England a true and perfect copy of that Act and of the Book of Common Prayer, this fifth book is generally called *The Sealed Book of Charles II*. It was reprinted in Dublin in 1664, 1665, and 1666, and frequently since. This Book was common to England and Ireland until the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869; but in 1870 a synod held in Dublin agreed on a separate Prayer Book for Ireland. This is in essentials the same as the Anglican Prayer Book, the principal difference being the omission of lessons from the Apocrypha and of certain rubrics and forms, and the addition of one question and answer in the Church Catechism.

Humphrey Powell, who printed the First Prayer Book of Edward VI in Dublin in 1551, had been a printer in Holborn Conduit, London, in 1548, and two years later he went as King's Printer to Ireland, presumably under royal patent, for we find that in July, 1550, a warrant was issued by the English Privy

Council "to deliver XX li. [twenty pounds, sterling] unto Powell the printer given him by the King's Majestie towards his setting up in Irelande." Moving from "the great toure by the Crane" to a residence in St. Nicholas Street on the south side of the River Liffey, Powell continued to carry on his business as a printer for some fifteen years after 1551, and it is said that his productions were, from the typographical point of view, "most creditable to the early Irish press." Besides the *Book of Common Prayer*, three other specimens of Powell's work have come down to us, namely, two proclamations and a *Brief Declaration of certain Principal Articles of Religion*.

The first proclamation—the forerunner of many another for which Dublin Castle was responsible—was against a personage no less redoubtable than Shane O'Neill, John the Proud. Shane O'Neill was one of the most formidable opponents that the English power ever encountered in Ireland. For a long time it was the fashion in certain quarters to pretend to regard him as a half-savage, but the verdict of history has been very different. Deficient in personal morality, and lacking those qualities of long-suffering patience and powers of organization which were the essential characteristics of his great kinsman, Hugh O'Neill, Shane was nevertheless a skilled leader in the field, and he proved himself a fine administrator in time of peace. His father, Conn O'Neill, had been created Earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII, and had thereupon agreed to drop the title of The O'Neill, to which he had been duly elected, and at the same time Conn's son, Matthew—illegitimate at best and doubtfully Conn's son at all—was created Baron of Dungannon, with the right of succession to the Earldom of Tyrone. Both arrangements were extremely distasteful to the clan O'Neill, and when Shane, one of Conn's legitimate sons, grew to man's estate he determined to fight for his rights and the rights of his clan. In 1551, in a dispute which arose between Conn and his son Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, the English took the side of Matthew, and carried off Conn to Dublin, where, though not actually imprisoned, he was kept, sorely

against his will, for more than a year. In revenge for this enforced detention of his father, Shane devastated Louth, one of the counties of the English Pale, in 1553, but he was ultimately defeated by an English army near Dundalk. In 1556 he went to Dublin, made his submission to the Deputy, and received pardon. His expedition in 1557 against the O'Donnell's of Tyrconnell ended so disastrously that the spirit of any one but Shane would have been broken. His star, however, was speedily in the ascendant again, for in 1558 his rival, the Baron of Dungannon, was killed, and in 1559 his father, the Earl of Tyrone, died, and Queen Elizabeth, on the representation of Sir Henry Sidney, who was then Deputy for the Earl of Sussex, decided that Shane should be allowed to succeed to his father's title and estates. On the advice of Cecil, however, she soon changed her mind, and in 1560 declared that the young Baron of Dungannon, Brian, son of Matthew, was the rightful heir to Conn, and that the lands of which he had been dispossessed by Shane should be restored; and she commanded the Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, to compel Shane to show the obedience due from a subject. So important did it seem at this juncture to crush Shane that Elizabeth herself wrote to several Irish chieftains asking for assistance against him, and a powerful confederacy of O'Reilly's and O'Donnell's, O'Madden's and O'Shaughnessy's, with Sorley Boy McDonnell of Antrim and his Scots, all aided by the English forces, was formed to compass his downfall. In face of odds apparently so overwhelming, Shane first sent to the Queen a statement of his grievances and of his claims; and then early in 1561 he invaded the Pale, turned aside and defeated O'Reilly, and finally carried off Calvagh O'Donnell and his wife from the monastery of Kilodonnell. He threw Calvagh into prison and subjected him to even grosser indignities. In retaliation for the invasion of the Pale and the defeat and contumelious treatment of the English allies, Sussex took Armagh and left a garrison there. Against this invasion of his territory Shane put in a vigorous protest. It was about this time that the proclamation declaring him to be a traitor and a rebel and

offering a reward for his head was published. It contains 212 lines and is undated, but the date is fixed as being June 23rd, 1561, by the covering letter in which the copy, now to be found in the Public Record Office, London, was sent to England. The proclamation was issued by the authority of "the Right Honble. The Earl of Sussex, Lord Lyeutenant General of Ireland with the assent of the Nobility and Councel." But the Castle fulmination was powerless at first to check Shane's onward career. His reply to it was to inflict a crushing defeat on Sussex and his army near Armagh. Another devastation of the Pale was followed by an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Sussex to have Shane assassinated by a servant, one Neal Grey. After this Shane refused to have any dealings with Sussex, but the Earl of Kildare, who was sent to Ireland from England specially for the purpose, induced him to go to London to submit the matters in dispute to Elizabeth in person, guarantees being given for his safety. His spectacular appearance at the English court accompanied by his gallowglasses has been often described. He behaved with great dignity and even haughtiness, so that a courtier spoke of him as "O'Neill the Great, cousin of St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, enemy to all the world beside." Shane found that his suit did not make much progress, and he was detained in London, despite his remonstrances, from January until May, 1562. The wonder is that he was allowed to get away at all; but the death of Brian, the young Baron of Dungannon, recently recognized as Earl of Tyrone, made it good policy for Elizabeth and her advisers to allow Shane to return home, on certain conditions. Once safe in his native fastnesses Shane set these conditions at nought, and proceeded to attack the surrounding chieftains, the allies of England, as vigorously as ever. Peace was at length made in 1563, and Shane was confirmed in the title of The O'Neill with unquestioned and supreme power in Ulster. During this peace he governed his territory so well that the Brehon law was actively executed, robbery and violence were put down with a strong hand, commerce with the continent was encouraged and developed, the land became fertile and pro-

ductive once more under the care of the husbandman, and many dwellers of the Pale migrated to Ulster for the greater security to be enjoyed in the territory of The O'Neill. But Shane was too powerful for a subject. Sir Henry Sidney, who was sent to Ireland as Deputy towards the end of 1565, was determined to crush him, and took active measures for that object. The downfall of the northern chief was, however, to come from another quarter. On the shores of Lough Swilly in 1567 he met his Waterloo, being defeated with the loss of 3000 men by his ancient foes, the O'Donnell's. From that stricken field he fled to the protection of his sometime allies but more recent foes, the Scotch McDonnell's of Antrim. They received him kindly at first, but the memory of the defeat he had inflicted on them at Glenflesk in 1565 still rankled in their bosoms, and in a brawl that arose O'Neill was set upon and done to death. His body, which had been flung into a pit, was afterwards disinterred by one Captain Piers, who cut off the head, carried it to Dublin, and had it placed on a stake on Dublin Castle. Piers received the 1000 marks reward offered for Shane's head, and thus the proclamation, after so many years of turmoil, war, and slaughter, at length had its complete realization.

The second proclamation to which reference has been made was issued by "the Lords Justice and Counsell." It bears date August 16th, 1564, and was against "the rebels of the O'Connors." It contains 78 lines, and it also is to be found in the Public Record Office, London.

The last of Powell's printing that we know of is *A Breve Declaration of certein Principall Articles of Religion; set out by order and auctoritie as well of the right Honorable Sir Henry Sidney Knyght of the most noble order, Lord presidēt of the Coūcel in the Principalltie of Wales, & Marches of the same, and general deputie of this Realme of Ireland, as by Tharchebyshops, & Byshopes, & other her maiesties Hygh Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the same Realme.* The only copy of this pamphlet known to exist is to be found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains eight unpagel leaves, and measures 7 by 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

With this *Brief Declaration* Humphrey Powell disappears from view, and we hear of him no more for ever. It is not to be supposed, however, that he was idle between 1551 and 1561, and again from 1561 to 1564 and from 1564 to 1566; the only assumption we can make is that what he printed during those apparently vacant periods has not survived. One work that may with considerable conjectural probability be assigned to him is the printing of the Statutes for Sir Henry Sidney, a task to which later reference will be made.

A work of a highly controversial type purports to have been printed at Waterford during the reign of Mary in 1555. It was written by John Olde, an exile for the Protestant religion under Queen Mary, and bears for title *The acquital or purgation of the moost Catholyke Christen Prince, Edwarde the VI, Kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, &c., and of the Church of Englande reformed and governed vnder him, agaynst al suche as blasphemously and traitorously infame him or the sayd Church, of heresie or sedicion*. It is dedicated thus: "To the nobilitie and to the reste of the charitable Christen laytie of Englande, John Olde wisheth grace and mercy from God the Father, and from Jesus Christe the common and only Saveour of the worlde, with the gifte of perfite faithe and earnest repentaunce." It is neatly printed in black letter, and has the quotations in italics. On the recto of the last leaf it has the following colophon in Roman type: *Emprinted at Vraterford, the 7 daye of Novembre, 1555*. Ames and Dr. Cotton agree in the belief that, despite the colophon, this work was not printed at Waterford. The former leans to the opinion that it was privately printed in England, on the ground that he had no assurance that any press was set up so early at Waterford, and that it must have been as dangerous to print such a book openly there, during Queen Mary's reign, as in England. Dr. Cotton's reason for the rejection of Waterford is simply that he cannot claim for that city "so early an acquaintance with the mysteries of the art of printing." Neither reasoning seems entirely satisfactory in face of the explicit statement contained in the book itself.

Another, though smaller, treatise, is believed to have been printed at the same time and place as Olde's work, because the letter, paper, and presswork exactly correspond. This second work bears this formidable title: *An epistle wrytten by John Scory, the late Bishoppe of Chichester, unto all the faithfull that be in pryson in Englande, or in any other troble for the defence of Goddes truthe: wherein he dothe, as well by the promises of mercy as also by the nsamples of diverse holy martyres, comfort, encourage, and strengthe them patiently for Christes sake to suffer the manifolde cruell and moste tyrānous persecutiōs of ye Anti-christian tormentours; exhorting them to contynue in saythfull prayers, innocency of lyfe, patience, and hope, that God maye the rather deliver them, restore againe the light of His Gospell to Englande, and founde all the proude, beastly, and develishe enterprises of Anti-christes garde, that doo imagine nothing els but ye subversion of the Gospell of Christ, and contynually thurst for the bloud of all due Christians. In the world ye shall have tribulatiō: but be of good cheare, I have overcom the worlde, John XV. Anno 1555.* It bears the following dedication: "Unto the faythfull and most valeānt souldiours of the great Captain, the Lorde Jesus Christ, that be in prison in England, or any other where in banyshmēt and trouble for the defence of Goddes Worde, John Scory willingly a banished man for the same Worde, wisheth from God our Father, the grace, comfort, and strength of His Holy Goost thorowe our only Mediatour Jesus Christ." At the end it has: "Apoc. 22, Veni, Domine, Jesu cito. Anno 1555," without printer's name or place. It is printed wholly in black letter, with the marginal references in italics. Both Olde and Scory's works are in the Bodleian Library.

Yet a third Waterford publication used to be mentioned in the catalogue of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the entry being: "*Archbishop Cranmer's Confutation of unwritten verities*, 8vo., Waterford, 1555." This book, however, is no longer to be found there, the story being that it and many other rare works were stolen from the library by a confidential

servant in the early years of the nineteenth century. This statement is made on the authority of Dr. Cotton, the present writer not having had the opportunity of personally verifying it.

Sir Henry Sidney, who was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1565, and who held the celebrated tumultuous Parliament which assembled at Dublin in January, 1568-9, ordered all the statutes enacted in Ireland from their first institution down to his own time to be collected and printed. That this was done we have proof in the *Chronicles of Ireland*, by Vowel, printed in Holinshed, 1586, in which the writer says: "Whereas there were manie good lawes and statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid up and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and utterlie unknowne to the most part of the whole land, and everie man ignorant in the lawes of his owne countrie, he [Sir Henry Sidney] caused a thorough view, and a review to be made, and then a choice of all good statutes as were most necessarie to be put in use and execution; which, being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation." This collection of laws is assumed to have been printed at Dublin during one of Sidney's administrations. Of this, however, we cannot be quite certain, for no copy appears to be extant. If the printing was done in Dublin and early in Sidney's Irish career, the printer was probably Humphrey Powell.

This same Vowel, alias Hooker, who, by the way, was uncle to the celebrated Richard Hooker, author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, made a most interesting compilation which appeared in 1572 without printer's name or place of printing, but which, from certain internal evidence contained in the "Epistle Dedicatory," is with some inherent probability thought to have been printed in Dublin. Its title is *The Order and Usage of keeping of the Parlements in England, collected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gentleman*. Vowel had been a member of that disorderly Irish Parliament of 1568-9 to which reference has been already made. There was so much commotion and interruption in the discharge of business for want of order and regularity that a formal request was made to the Speaker for

the reformation of conduct so unseemly. The greatly harassed Speaker promised to do his best in the matter, and, for that purpose, took counsel with those who were acquainted with the procedure of the English Parliament. Among those so consulted was Vowel, who promised to make full inquiry, and undertook to have the standing orders of the English Parliament set forth in print. With that end in view, he crossed to England, and was elected as a member for his native city of Exeter to the Parliament held at Westminster in 1571. The result of his investigations was the book, the title of which has just been given. It is thus dedicated: "To the right honorable his very good Lord, Sir William Fitz-William, Knight, L. deputye of Ireland, John Vowel alias Hooker, with all humbleness and due reuerēce, wisheth a happy successe and a prosperous gouernmēt to th' encrease of God's honour in true Religion, the Queenes maiesties seruice in due obedience, and the administration of the publique welth in Justice, Equitie, and Judgement." The dedication is dated: "The third of October, 1572." He thus tells Fitz-William how he proceeded to carry out his promise to the Speaker of the Irish Parliament. "I thought it then a moste fit time for the acquittall of my said promise, wherefore diligently I did observe, consider and mark all maner of orders, usages, rites, ceremonies, and all other circumstāces, which either I sawe with eye, or found registred among the records of that assembly [the English Parliament]. And having written the same: I did then confer with the exemplars and presidents of tholde and ancient Parlemēts used in tymes past with in the said Realme of England, whereof I found two, the one was that which King Edgar (or as some say, King Edward the Confessor) used, thother, which was in use in time of Kig Edward the first. The forme as wel for antiquitie's sake, as also for a presidēt to the good gouernmēt in tholde yeers: I have annexed to these presents, thother, in sōe things agreeable, and in many things disagreeable, both frō the first and the last; I have omitted. This which now is in use being it which is onely to be folowed and used." Following the dedicatory epistle he sets down "The olde and auncient order of keeping of the

Parlement in England, used in the time of King Edward the Confessor." This recital occupies sixteen pages. Next he sets down "The order and usage how to keep a Parlement in England in these dayes, collected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gentleman, one of the citizens for the Cittie of Exeter, at the Parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Domini Elizabethae Reginae decimo Tertio, 1571." This disquisition runs to thirty-one pages, and is reprinted verbatim in his *Chronicles of Ireland*, inserted in Holinshed, 1586. The whole book is a quarto. There is a copy in the British Museum, where its place of origin is given conjecturally as Exeter, and its date 1575.

The first font of Irish type used in Ireland was presented by Queen Elizabeth to John Kerney, Kearney, or O'Kearney, treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. O'Kearney tells us himself that the type was provided "at the cost of the high, pious, great, and mighty prince, Elizabeth." From the *State Papers* (Irish Series) we learn, under date December, 1567, that the queen had expended a sum of £66. 13s. 4d. "for the making of carecters for the testament in irishe," and this was probably the set of type which she sent to Ireland. At all events, from the font presented to him by Elizabeth, O'Kearney caused to be printed at Dublin in 1571 a book which was entitled an *Irish Alphabet and Catechism*. Besides the Catechism and some prayers, it contained the elements of the Irish Language and Archbishop Parker's celebrated "Advertisements" for church practices and ritual. The title page is translated as follows by Gertrude Burford Rawlings in her *Story of Books* (New York, 1901):

Irish Alphabet and Catechism.

Precept or instruction of a Christian, together with certain articles of the Christian rule, which are proper for everyone to adopt who would be submissive to the ordinance of God and of the Queen in this Kingdom; translated from Latin and English into Irish by John O'Kearney.

Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord?

Arise, cast us not off for ever. Ps. xliii, ver. 23.

Printed in Irish in the town of the Ford of the Hurdles, at the cost

of Master John Usher, alderman, at the head of the Bridge, the 20th day of June, 1571.

With the privilege of the great Queen.

1571.

Only three copies of the work are known to exist. One is in the British Museum, another in the Bodleian Library, and the third in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral. No printer's name is given, but the printer was probably O'Kearney himself. O'Kearney was assisted in his work of translation by his intimate friend and companion, Nicholas Walsh, who at the date mentioned was chancellor of St. Patrick's, and who was consecrated bishop of Ossory in February, 1577.

It is to be remarked that the font used in printing O'Kearney's *Irish Alphabet and Catechism* is not entirely Irish, many of the letters being ordinary Roman or Italian. This font continued to be used in several works during the early years of the seventeenth century, and is found as late as 1652 in Godfrey Daniel's *Christian Doctrine*. As might naturally be expected, the Irish seminaries abroad had a better supply of Irish type. A new Irish type was cast in England by Moxon and is said by Mores (*Dissertations upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries*, London, 1778) to have been used for the first time in Bishop Bedel's translation of the Old Testament in 1686, but it would appear that it was used at least five years earlier, in 1681, in the Irish translation of the New Testament, which was printed by Robert Everingham at the charge of Robert Boyle, the great natural philosopher.

Apropos of attempts to have a version of the Bible made for the use of those inhabitants of Ireland who understood only the native tongue, it may be of interest to note that O'Kearney and Walsh appear to have also collaborated in a translation of the New Testament into Irish, for, in the records of the Acts of the Privy Council, under date August, 1587, we find it stated that this joint work was then in existence in manuscript, but was never printed partly for want of suitable type

and skilled printers and partly on account of the cost. The conclusion which, on a review of all the facts, suggests itself is that O'Kearney's *Irish Alphabet and Catechism* was printed as a trial of the new type, that the type was found "inadequate for the larger work, and that for some reason there was a difficulty about supplying more or finding anyone to undertake the printing."¹ Hence the delay in the appearance of an Irish version of the Scriptures.

It is generally supposed that the *Irish Alphabet and Catechism* was the first book printed in Irish type, but this credit has also been claimed for Bishop Carswell's translation of the Scottish Prayer-Book, which was printed in Edinburgh in 1567 by Roibeard Lekprevik for the use of the Highlanders of Scotland in a certain form of Gaelic which was common at that period to Ireland and Scotland. The type used, however, in this latter publication is not Irish or Gaelic but Roman, so that we seem justified in allowing O'Kearney's work to hold its pride of place.

There did, however, appear in 1571 a poem in Irish, which is therefore contemporary with the *Alphabet and Catechism*. Its place of origin was Dublin. It is a religious poem of 22½ stanzas of 8 lines each, printed in broadside in three parallel columns. An original copy is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This has been reproduced in photographic facsimile, and in that form may be inspected in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin and in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The title has been thus translated by Mr. John McNeill, Vice-President of the Gaelic League: *A poem this, by Philip, son of Conn Crossach, in which is Shown the Awful Description of the Day of Doom, and the Manner in which Christ will come to Judgment, and the Words He shall say thereat*. The printer was probably O'Kearney.

In 1587 one William Farmer, a "Chirurgion," wrote *An Almanack for Ireland*. There is some doubt as to whether or not it was printed in Dublin, as the copy in the Bodleian

¹ *Story of Books*, p. 135.

Library is supposed to have been printed in London. At all events it was, doubtless, the earliest almanac printed in or for Ireland, and is so mentioned by Harris in his *Additions to Ware's Writers of Ireland*, 1746.

The list of prints produced in Ireland in the sixteenth century is closed, appropriately enough, by two proclamations. The first is dated the 12th June, 1595, and was issued in the name of the queen against the Earl of Tyrone (that is, Hugh O'Neill) and his adherents in Ulster. It was printed by William Kearney, Queen's printer, "in the Cathedrall Church of the Blessed Trinitie" (now Christ Church). It is a single sheet, and contains 67 lines. That there were good grounds for the proclamation from the Government point of view will be readily realized when it is remembered that it was issued when O'Neill had formed his great Northern confederacy, and in the very year of the battle of Clontibret—at a time therefore when suspicion of the Ulster leader had deepened into certainty, and the greatest uneasiness as to the outcome was felt by those responsible to the queen for the government of Ireland. The second proclamation issued by "the L. Deputie [Mountjoy] and Councell" was dated 22nd November, 1600, and was also against "Hugh Neale, called O'Neale." It was printed by John Franke (or Franckton) "at the Bridgefoote," was a single sheet, and ran to 50 lines. Unlike the preceding proclamation, the body of which was in black letter, this one was in Roman type. Both are to be found in the Public Record Office, London.

This completes the list of printed matter of which we have knowledge as having been produced in Ireland in the sixteenth century. To that century Ware assigns forty-two Irish writers, the authors of some one hundred and four books. Not one of these works purports to have been printed in Ireland, all showing such places of origin as Douay, Antwerp, Zurich, and Venice. Hence the list we have had so far to deal with is a rather exiguous one; but we shall see that in the seventeenth century there was a very vigorous output of books, pamphlets, proclamations, and other publications from various Irish centres.

P. J. LENNOX.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, OSCOTT.

PART I. HISTORY.

Prologue.

In the year 1585 Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, and the last survivor of the ancient hierarchy of England, died an exile in Rome. For forty years the dwindling flock of English Catholics had no Bishop; and for nearly a hundred years no Catholic priest could live in the country save at the peril of the sentence for high treason. From the fatal day of the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1559, there was neither College nor School for the adherents of the old Faith, nor Seminary for the education of the clergy, nor religious houses for men or women called to the practice of evangelical perfection. The Catholic religion was doomed to extinction with a resolution and foresight almost unparalleled in the history of the Church. English youths and maidens could only be educated across the seas. And thus it happened that in a couple of generations the Catholic Church in England lost its poor and middle class, for the simple reason that no Catholic instruction could be offered them.

Still, through the munificence of royal benefactors, and the unflinching persistence and endurance of our ancestors, the Faith was saved. A movement for the education of a new race of clergy was initiated by Dr. Allen and his devoted band of Oxford graduates, who, in 1568, established the renowned College at Douay. Colleges were founded at Rheims in 1578, at Rome in 1579, at Valladolid in 1589, at Seville in 1592, at St. Omer's in 1594 and at Lisbon in 1624.

The various orders of religious men likewise founded houses abroad. In the early days of Queen Elizabeth the Bridgettine nuns of Syon House fled the country, and after many hard-

ships and wanderings finally settled at Lisbon in 1594, where they remained 240 years. Between 1598 and 1665 many English convents of Benedictines, Poor Clares, Canonesses of St. Augustine, Franciscans and Reformed Carmelites were established and flourished in Paris and Flanders.¹

The revival under James II brought disastrous reaction in its train. In the reign of William III, astute legislative enactments were passed with the view of effecting the gradual and painless extinction of Catholicity in the realm, and a premium was placed on apostacy. The darkest days had come. The glorious age of the martyrs was but a memory, and Catholics, in order to save their property, abandoned the Faith for which their fathers had suffered imprisonment and death. Religious fervor cooled, and vocations were fewer. Yet still there were found those who worked and hoped. Here and there a Catholic school might have been met with even in the gloomiest days of the 18th century. But a new era opened when the dauntless Bishop Challoner suggested the establishment of Sedgley Park School, near Wolverhampton, which was opened in 1763.²

From the days of James II a School existed at Silksted, near Winchester, whence it was removed to Twyford. It died out in 1745, to be revived at Standon in 1753; from there in 1769 it was transferred to Old Hall, near Ware in Hertfordshire.³

The Relief Acts of 1778 aroused wild opposition, first in Scotland and then in England, which culminated in the Lord George Gordon riots in 1780. But wiser counsels at length prevailed, and in 1791 Parliament granted religious liberty, without, however, conceding political emancipation.⁴

¹ Dodd's *Church History of England*. Tierney, iv, pp. 102 seqq.

The Angel of Syon. Dom A. Hamilton, 1905, pp. 6-7.

Annals of the English Benedictines of Ghent, by the Abbess of Oulton, Staffordshire (privately printed), pp. 1, 2.

² *The History of Sedgley Park School* by Husenbeth. 1856, pp. 9-10.

³ *St. Edmund's College, Old Hall* by B. Ward. 1893, cc. i-iii.

⁴ *A Short History of the Catholic Church in England*. C. T. S., 1897, pp. 473-479.

In the meantime events had been moving swiftly on the Continent. The Revolutionists executed Louis XVIII early in 1793, and war followed between France and England. The French Republican army marched through Flanders, and in a few months all the English Colleges and Convents in France and Belgium (except the Benedictine Convent at Ypres) were broken up, and their inmates dispersed.

This calamitous state of things abroad, and the tolerance granted to Catholics at home, turned the thoughts of our leaders, both lay and ecclesiastical, to the dire necessity of making immediate provision for the wants of education within our own shores. The refugees from Douay formed the nucleus of the two great Colleges of St. Edmund's, Old Hall, and St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw, both founded in 1794. The Jesuits from Liège settled at Stonyhurst, and the Benedictines from Douay were welcomed at Acton Burnell, near Shrewsbury.⁵

The Founding of Oscott.

The College of Oscott is a purely native institution. Already in the year 1793, and before the publication of the decree of spoliation directed by the Government of the Revolution against British subjects, Bishop Talbot, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, contemplated the establishment of a Seminary for the education of his clergy. At the suggestion of Dr. Kirk, —at that time President of Sedgley Park School, and serving the mission of Oscott,—he turned his eyes to the secluded vale of Oscott. Oscott had been the abode of a succession of worthy pastors since the time it was the home of the confessor of the Faith, Andrew Bromwich (condemned to death at Stafford in 1679, but afterwards reprieved) who died there in 1702.⁶ The priest's house was spacious, and had been fitted up and used some years previously as a girls' boarding-school.

At the same time, and with the knowledge of the Bishop, a

⁵ *The Oscotian*, December, 1882, pp. 191-194; July, 1883, p. 57 seqq.

⁶ *The Oscotian*, July, 1883, pp. 79-88.

committee of gentlemen, including Lords Stourton and Petre, were in consultation about the establishment of a College where the sons of the nobility and gentry might receive a suitable Catholic education.

Both the Bishop and the lay committee desired to have the services of Dr. John Bew, recently come over from Paris. Dr. Bew had been educated at Sedgley Park, Douay, and at St. Gregory's, Paris, where he was for a time President. He had had the advantage of considerable experience in educational matters, and by his superior abilities and attainments speedily won the confidence of all who met him. Dr. Kirk advised Bishop Talbot to secure the coöperation of Dr. Bew, who was accordingly placed in charge of the Oscott mission, with the object of forming the projected Seminary. Although the accounts begin in February, 1794, the first student of the new institution did not arrive until May, and two others shortly afterwards. Sometime, however, before the autumn the Bishop and the lay committee had agreed to combine their respective schemes, and in the month of October a joint circular was issued making known this decision, and announcing that a mixed college would be opened on November 1st, when the necessary alterations and additions had been completed.⁷

The government of the College was a compromise. The Bishop of the Midland District had authority in all spiritual matters, and also the right of appointing the President. The lay governors took into their hands the administration of financial affairs, and in conjunction with the President, directed the education of the lay boys. The prospectus drawn up undoubtedly by Dr. Bew, appeared in October and again in November, 1794. The educational system was conceived on a comprehensive plan, embracing all the features of a liberal education without a separate professional or commercial department. It was professedly classical, including French and German, and not as we should say 'modern.' The prospectus sets religion in the foremost place, as being the 'most important

⁷ *The Oscottian*, July, 1883, pp. 66 seqq.

element of education.' The teaching of Religion would receive particular attention throughout the whole course of studies. The work would be carried on daily, and would extend from 'the elements of the Catechism to the Evidences of Christianity.' Other details of the programme are the classes of Rhetoric and Philosophy,—where the appropriate duties of different conditions of life were to be fully detailed in a course of Ethics, and those principles would be there established on which Conduct throughout life must be regulated,—the learning by heart of selected passages from the different authors, the practice of composition in various languages, especially English, monthly and quarterly examinations. The discipline of the College was conceived in such a way as to 'promote efficiently the strictest morality, self control, good manners and bodily vigor.' The staff entrusted with the responsibility of this programme was amply sufficient for the number of pupils. The President had for his assistant the Rev. Thomas Potts, who had been educated at Douay, there also he had taught classics. After his return to England he had occupied for thirteen years the post of chaplain to Francis Fortesque Turville, Esq., at Husbands Bosworth, Leicestershire. Assistant lay masters were engaged, presumably for French or German, and among them were French *émigrés*. The formal opening of the College, then capable of receiving sixteen students, took place on November 1st, 1794, with three ecclesiastics and two lay boys.

The early growth of the institution was slow and disheartening. The first three church students abandoned their project; and many of the lay boys remained but one year. In 1797 the number had reached eighteen. After this the accommodation was increased so that sixty could be received, and the total went up to thirty-five. Still progress remained unsatisfactory, and the financial condition caused embarrassment. Eventually, in the year 1808, the lay committee offered the entire establishment, buildings and furniture together with liabilities reaching nearly £600, to Dr. Milner, successor to Bishop Talbot as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District. Dr. Milner

accepted the offer of what was in substance a valuable possession, and henceforth the College became the absolute property of the Bishop of the Midland District, and bore the name of St. Mary's College.⁸

Bishop Milner and the "New Government."

The "Old Government," as it was styled, came to an end after a precarious existence of fourteen years, but not without producing rich and noble fruit. The "New Government"—with the Rev. Thomas Potts as President, the Rev. Thomas Walsh (spiritual director from Sedgley Park) as Vice-President, and the Rev. Francis Quick, a zealous and intelligent convert, as Procurator,—happily commenced its career on the feast of the Assumption, 1808. The Bishop remodelled not only the staff, but the domestic arrangements, the discipline, the studies, the religious and liturgical observances. The number of students soon rose to forty-eight, of whom seven were ecclesiastics.⁹

Under the masterful direction of Bishop Milner the College developed rapidly. Year by year structural changes and additions were made to meet the increasing requirements. The "Laura" for the accommodation of the older ecclesiastical students was erected in 1809, the chapel enlarged in 1810, sometime in the summer of the same year the library of books at Harvington, Worcestershire, belonging to the clergy of the Midland District, was transferred to Oscott, the colonnade and Exhibition-room built in 1816, the new wing containing 'Milner's rooms' in 1819, the Sacred Heart chapel in 1820,—the first in England,—the Holford Farm purchased in 1820 for the sum of £4,213. In 1822 the number of students reached some sixty or seventy boys not including divines.

The two Presidents, the Rev. T. Potts (1808-1818) and

⁸ *Life of Bishop Milner* by Husenbeth, p. 157.

Life of Mgr. Weedall by Husenbeth, c. iii.

⁹ *The Oscotian*, June, 1885, p. 129.

the Rev. Thomas Walsh (1818-1825) were the pliant instruments of Milner's influence. The Rev. Henry Weedall had occupied a distinguished position in the College since his arrival as a boy in 1804. He had been prominent in the athletic pastimes of the boys, eminent in his studies, a model of regularity and piety. He held the office of Vice-President under the Rev. T. Walsh, and when in 1825 the latter was named coadjutor to Bishop Milner, the reins naturally fell into his hands. The following year the great Milner died, and Walsh succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic of the District.

The appointment of Weedall was in every way a happy one. A man of rare refinement and delicacy of feeling, with a natural dignity and unruffled self-control, he proved himself through many trying circumstances an ideal President for lay boys, and one who commanded the confidence of parents to an extraordinary degree. He had the wisdom to develop the resources which the energetic administration of Milner and his assistants had bequeathed him. He had the sagacity to perceive that suitable expansion was impossible in the contracted and secluded area of the Old College. Already in 1830 it was full to overflowing; even the new exhibition-room had to be used as a dormitory. At this juncture Dr. Kirk, then in charge of the neighboring mission of Lichfield, submitted plans for a new college, drawn up in concert with Mr. Potter, the cathedral architect, together with suggestions for raising the requisite funds. The project was accepted, clergy and people accorded it a generous welcome, and a munificent benefaction, which at the time came into the hands of Bishop Walsh, relieved him from further serious anxiety.¹⁰ A site about two miles distant from the 'Old College,' on an eminence, covered with gorse and heather, with a wide, smiling valley before it, was purchased, and in three years the new buildings were completed at a cost of £24,000.

The general design recalls the old Gothic Colleges of Oxford.

¹⁰ *The Buildings, Museum, Pictures, and Library of St. Mary's College, Oscott*, by Canon Greaney. (Privately printed 1899), pp. 6-7.

From the long and stately front of four storeys with its high central tower two wings fall back and are connected by an ambulatory. The unity of plan is admirable, and in the space of seventy years few additions have been necessary, while harmony of style has been preserved even in the remotest portions of the extensive outbuildings.

In the year 1837, before the College was finished, Augustus Welby Pugin, then a young man and a recent convert, came to the 'Old College.' His book on "Contrasts" appeared the year before, and had just been read in the College refectory. Weedall welcomed him, appointed him professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and commissioned him to complete the chapel of the New College.¹¹

The furniture of the principal rooms, which had been designed by Pugin, the richness of the new Gothic vestments, the decorative work of Pugin, the splendid ceremonial, appeared like a heavenly vision to the six hundred visitors assembled at the opening of the Chapel on May 31st, 1838. A year later the Marini Library, consisting of some thousands of volumes, was purchased at Rome by Dr. Wiseman then Rector of the English College, and presented by Bishop Walsh to the College, the total cost being nearly £4,000. John, Sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, presented a collection of two hundred oil paintings in addition to other princely gifts. But in the hour of his crowning success Weedall was appointed in 1840 to one of the newly created Vicariates. But "he had no wish to lose the vantage-ground on which he stood, and from which he could command the coöperation, in such services as might remain to him, of the many Catholics who had successively been trained up under his eye. He was quietly exerting an influence through the whole English Church, and Oscott was a centre more favorable to its extension than that which was offered to him elsewhere."¹² The blow was as crushing as it had been unexpected. He left for Rome to pray the Holy

¹¹ *The Oscottian*, July, 1887, pp. 182-188; July, 1905, pp. 107-114.

¹² "The tree beside the waters." Funeral sermon by Dr. Newman, p. 17.

Father to relieve him of a burden for which he was so unfitted. He had "sacrificed," as he said in his appeal to the Holy See, "time, health, studies, everything to the successful establishment and management of Oscott." His petition was granted, but on his return to England, he found that he had been superseded by Bishop Wiseman in the administration of the College he had loved and served with a life-long devotedness.¹³ Into the pathetic story of his retirement we cannot enter here, but must sketch as briefly as may be the grand and spacious times of Bishop Wiseman's presidency.

Bishop Wiseman and the Converts.

The coming of Bishop Wiseman inaugurated the most brilliant period in the history of Oscott. A European fame had preceded him, and the memory of an impressive retreat preached by him at the College in September, 1839, had made his personality already familiar.

When he reached the lodge gates on September 9th, 1840, the horses were unharnessed and his carriage drawn up by the boys to the entrance. He was conducted to the Chapel. A *Te Deum* was chanted, after which all the company proceeded to the library, where amid enthusiastic cheering, Bishop Walsh announced that Dr. Wiseman was the new President. Dr. Wiseman chose as his Vice-President the Rev. Charles F. H. Logan, D. C. L., a gentleman of gracious manners and scholarly attainments. He was received into the Church in his youth, and had studied at the English College, Rome.

With a soul simple and childlike, Wiseman had all the grandeur of a mediaeval churchman. The interests that absorbed his mind were not bounded by the woods of Oscott, or even by the limits of the Central District, but by the shores of England. Our fathers had been narrowed by generations of retirement and obloquy. Their faith was strong, their lives honorable and stainless; but they hardly spoke the lan-

¹³ *Life of Monsignor Weedall* by Husenbeth, 1860, cc. xiv, xv.

guage of their countrymen, and had had no opportunity of learning to understand or to sympathize with their religious difficulties. No such limitations hampered the new ruler of Oscott. No local or collegiate traditions checked in him the aspirations which to many of his colleagues seemed over sanguine. He probably knew nothing of the history of the house he was called to govern; but he believed firmly that it had a destiny far higher than that it was pursuing when he entered within its stately walls. "Never," he wrote in 1847, "never for an instant, did I waver in my full conviction that a new era had commenced for England . . . To the promotion of this grand object of England's hopes I devoted myself . . . Among the providential agencies that seemed justly timed, and even necessary for it, appeared to me the erection of this noble College, in the very heart of England. Often in my darkest days and hours, feeling as if alone in my hopes, have I walked in front of it, and casting my eyes towards it, exclaimed to myself, 'No, it was not to educate a few boys that this was erected, but to be the rallying point of the yet silent but vast movement towards the Catholic Church, which has commenced and must prosper.'" ¹⁴ Within a year of his appointment he wrote the following words to his intimate friend and coöperator in the cause, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle: "Let us have an influx of new blood, let us have even a small number of such men as write in the *Tracts*, so imbued with the spirit of the early Church; . . . let even a few such men, with the high clerical feeling which I believe them to possess, enter fully into the spirit of the Catholic religion, and we shall be speedily reformed, and England quickly converted. I am ready to acknowledge that, in all things except the happiness of possessing the truth, and being in communion with God's true Church, and enjoying the advantages and blessings that flow thence, we are their inferiors . . . I have long said it to those about me, that if the Oxford Divines entered the Church, we must

¹⁴ Quoted in *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, Wilfrid Ward, I, pp. 347-8.

be ready to fall into the shade and take up our position in the background.”¹⁵ He threw himself with all the sympathy and energy of his strong nature into the Tractarian movement, and opened communications directly and indirectly with its leaders. Anglicans were sure of a welcome at Oscott. Sibthorp was the first convert received at Oscott in October, 1842.

Le Page Renouf was confirmed at Oscott and stayed there from 1842 to 1846. Rev. G. Talbot was received and entered divinity at Oscott in 1843. St. George Mivart came after his conversion in 1844 and remained till 1846. Bernard Smith, M. A., also arrived in 1844 and remained till his ordination in April, 1847. In the August of 1845 W. G. Ward, J. D. Dalgairns, F. Bowles, R. Stanton, paid Wiseman a visit. On October 9th Newman, Bowles, and Stanton entered the Church at Littlemore through the ministry of Father Dominic. “Newman came to Oscott,” writes Wiseman, “on the Eve of All Saints with Messrs. St. John and Walker, and was followed by Mr. Oakeley. On All Saints, Newman, Oakeley and the other two were confirmed, and we had *ten* quondam Anglican clergymen in the chapel . . . Newman stayed with us Sunday and half of Monday, and he and all his party then expressed themselves, and have done so since, highly gratified by all they saw and felt.”¹⁶

Many years afterwards when raised to the Cardinalate, Newman touchingly referred to his visits to Oscott in the reply to an address presented to him in 1879 by the clergy and laity of the diocese of Birmingham. “I recollect, for instance,” he said, “thirty-six years ago, with what anxiety Dr. Wiseman, then coadjutor Bishop, exerted himself, when I was living near Oxford, to bring me within the safe lines of Holy Church, and how when I had been received by Father Dominic . . . I at once found myself welcomed and housed at Oscott, the

¹⁵ Quoted in *The Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle*, by E. S. Purcell, Macmillan, 1900, Vol. I., p. 290.

¹⁶ Wiseman to Murray. Quoted in *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, Ward, I, p. 433.

whole College, boys, I may say, as well as the authorities of the place, receiving me with open arms, till I was near forgetting that I must not encroach on their large hospitality. How many kind and eager faces, young and old, come before me now as they passed along the corridors or took part in the festivities of St. Cecilia's Day, or assisted at more directly sacred commemorations during the first months that I was a Catholic, and afterwards, when Dr. Wiseman had called us from Oxford to be near him." ¹⁷

In the same year the two Marshalls visited the College. The year following J. Brande Morris, M. A., H. Formby, M. A., and D. Haigh, M. A., entered the course of divinity at Oscott. H. M. Walker, M. A., and Thomas Wilkinson (the present Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle) entered in 1847. E. E. Estcourt, M. A., came in 1849. Most of the above spent at least two years reading for the priesthood. In the eyes of Wiseman, Oscott had become the centre of a great revival. Thither he welcomed all whose faces were turned to better and brighter days. He could sympathize with the ardent genius of Pugin, though brought up himself under the exclusive influence of classic models; he made known the fulness and the gorgeousness of liturgical services in which he took a peculiar delight; he worked encouragingly with those, who, like Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, were laboring for the restoration of the ancient chant; and no one enjoyed more keenly than he, the profuse richness of florid ecclesiastical music. But his apostolic earnestness for the conversion of England was yet wider and deeper than his ardor for the glories of worship. He found at Oscott Father Ignatius Spencer, who had been summoned by Bishop Walsh from the mission which he had created at West Bromwich, to the office of Dean and spiritual director at Oscott about the commencement of May, 1839. Spencer burned with an overflowing zeal for the conversion of England to the ancient Faith.

When the simple, uncouth and saintly Italian Apostle

¹⁷ *The Tablet*, September 27, 1879, p. 407.

Father Dominic came over in November, 1840, Oscott received him; but the time was not ripe for his work, and he left disappointed, but returned the next year and remained at Oscott to learn English, from October 7th, 1841 to February 17th, 1842, when he removed to his first Passionist foundation in England, at Aston in North Staffordshire. When all were opposed to the strange innovations of Father Dominic, Wiseman stood by him, and was justified by events.¹⁸

Wiseman tells us how he introduced Newman to the Old College in a letter to Dr. Russell of Maynooth at the end of 1845. "I have good hopes that he (Newman) will transfer his establishment to our Old College, which seems made for such a community. We went over it very minutely, to see what arrangements could be made. The difficulty is the abandoning so important a post as Oxford; while, on the other hand, he feels the importance of giving his young friends a good Catholic training and education, which cannot be done at Littlemore."¹⁹

In the February of 1846 Newman and his community removed from Littlemore to Oscott. The Old College, at Christie's suggestion, Newman called St. Mary's Vale, or afterwards Maryvale. There they were later joined by Faber and the Wilfridians, from Cotton Hall, North Staffordshire. They remained at Maryvale, studying their theology and attending to the needs of the mission until 1849, when they restored the College to the Bishop, and took up their residence at the mission of St Anne's, Birmingham.²⁰

The old chapel built in 1778, with the embellishments and additions of Milner, 1810-1820, stands just as it appeared nearly one hundred years ago. The Sacred Heart chapel, the first in England, where Milner used to say Mass, and "Mil-

¹⁸ *Life of Father Dominic*, by Pius Devine. Washbourne, 1898, cc. xxi-xxxi.

¹⁹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, by Ward, I, p. 433.

²⁰ In 1851 Bishop Ullathorne placed the Old College at the disposal of the Sisters of Mercy. The visitor of to-day will see the College as it stood in the time of Milner, with the exception of the "Laura," which was demolished as useless, and the Exhibition-room which was destroyed by fire in 1860.

ner's Rooms" are still there; and the rooms of the College are remembered to this day as the President's room, the Divines' room, the Refectory and so forth.

Wiseman was loved by the boys, admired, nay revered, by the converts, distrusted as a visionary by the old Catholic tradition of the house. He charmed the divines by his occasional theological conferences. He made the College known and respected throughout England, giving an historical importance to its position in English Church history such as it must ever retain. He was active in the ecclesiastical concerns of the District, preaching sermons and consecrating churches. He was busy with his articles for the *Dublin Review*, for he had an article in nearly every number during the time that he was at Oscott.²¹ He received guests frequently and visited much; he corresponded with the leading men in the religious movement of the day. He transformed the Church services and enriched them with music. He was indeed all this and more without, however, being a successful administrator of the College.

Dr. John Moore and the Gothic revival.

In August, 1847, on the death of Dr. Griffiths, Dr. Wiseman was appointed Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District. In August, 1848, he became coadjutor on the translation of Bishop Walsh to that District. In the February of the following year Bishop Walsh died, and Wiseman succeeded him.

The rule of Oscott had in the meantime devolved upon Wiseman's chief assistant, the Rev. Charles F. H. Logan, who formed a new staff of good though undistinguished workers, but resigned the responsibilities of office at the end of the school year.²² Bishop Ullathorne, the successful pioneer of the

²¹ *Dublin Review*, April, 1896. Our Diamond Jubilee. The Oscott copy of this number mentions Wiseman as the writer of articles between 1840 and 1845 when the *Dublin* itself in the Appendix, pp. 471-476, gives no information.

²² Dr. Logan died at Clifton, December 1, 1884, at the age of 86. *The Tablet*, December 13, 1884, p. 942.

Church in New South Wales, succeeded to the government of the Midland District on July 28th, 1848, and summoned an old Oscotian, the Rev. John Moore, to the guidance of the fortunes of the College. The new President, created Doctor of Divinity at the commencement of his administration, had proved himself a zealous missionary and a wise director of souls. He reluctantly accepted a position for which he believed himself unqualified, declaring that he was born to obey rather than to command. His tastes were eminently ecclesiastical, and he was imbued with an exuberant love of Gothic ideas. During his presidency England witnessed the restoration of the hierarchy, and in July, 1852, the College was honored by the assembling of the first Provincial Synod of the new hierarchy within its walls.²³

A large oil painting by James Doyle, brother of the celebrated "Dickey" Doyle, of *Punch*, representing a session of the Synod in the College chapel, now hangs in the front cloister. The leader of the Oxford movement, J. H. Newman, then seven years a Catholic, addressed to the Fathers of the Synod from the pulpit of the College chapel the wonderful and ever-memorable words of "The Second Spring."

Still external renown did not indicate any measure of financial prosperity, and with numbers diminished to almost a third of what Wiseman found in 1840 on his enthusiastic installa-

²³ A memorable and distressing incident of this period was the committal of Dr. Moore and Bishop Ullathorne to Warwick gaol. They happened to be trustees of a charitable fund drawing its income from some eighty shares in the Monmouthshire & Glamorganshire Banking Company. The Bank failed with heavy liabilities. In settlement of the claim against them as shareholders, Dr. Ullathorne and Dr. Moore agreed to pay £1,000 which they had borrowed for the purpose. But further claim was made amounting to £3,800. They had done all they could, and were willing to surrender all their personal property, the total value of which was £200. This offer was refused, and in April, 1853, Bishop Ullathorne was arrested at his residence in Bath Street, Birmingham, and Dr. Moore at Oscott College, whence they were conveyed to the County gaol.

The Birmingham Journal, of the day remarked: "These two gentlemen are now in custody, never having received one farthing for the onerous liability which they have unconsciously incurred. They have no alternative, therefore, but to pass through the Insolvency Court, as the only means of obtaining their discharge." Quoted, *Oscotian*, Jubilee Number, pp. 80-81.

tion, Dr. Moore urgently requested the Bishop to be allowed to resign his charge in June, 1853.²⁴

The Return of Dr. Weedall.

At this crisis in the history of the College, Bishop Ullathorne recognized that there was a man at his command upon whose name, devotedness, experience and influence he might reckon to restore what had been lost. He therefore called Dr. Weedall from his simple missionary duties at Handsworth, to the direction of St. Mary's College. Though in his sixty-sixth year he consecrated all his remaining strength to the resuscitation of the life and vigor of the institution he had served so long and with such unqualified success. The name of Weedall rallied the friends of the College, and it flourished once more. He chose a staff of men bred amid the traditions of Oscott,—pious, able and true; and they worked loyally with him to the end. In 1854 Pius IX conferred on him the Prelacy; and twice during his administration, in the summer of 1855 and 1859, the Provincial Synod of the English Bishops was held at Oscott. With the restoration of the College to a condition of prosperity, his task was done, and after a tedious and painful malady he died on the 7th of November, 1859,—the first of Oscott's Presidents to die in office. His body was laid to rest in the crypt beneath the altar of the College chapel he himself had built.

In the circular letter in which Bishop Ullathorne announced his death to the clergy of the diocese, he made use of the words which justly sum up his services to the College: "In his vigor of life he raised that College up in its splendor, and at the

²⁴ He spent the remainder of his days as chaplain to the community of Sisters of Mercy at Handsworth, and pastor of the mission, in which office he lived as a saint and died the death of the just on June 21st, 1856, in his fiftieth year. "Let me have a simple monument," he said to his brother shortly before his death, "just a stone to keep the rain off. John Powell knows what I should like. And let me be carried to the grave by sixteen poor men; one set of bearers is not enough."

voice of obedience left it prospering; at the same voice of obedience, he returned again to it in its hour of difficulty, and expended on its service all the energies of life that yet remained to him. God blessed his work."

Though the noble pile of buildings which form the College is itself the worthiest memorial of this most distinguished of the sons of Oscott, the gratitude of his pupils and the appreciation of his friends erected to his memory the beautiful "Weedall Chantry," designed by Peter Paul Pugin, and completed in January, 1862, at a cost of £800, the greater portion of which had been defrayed by subscriptions. Dr. Newman preached his funeral discourse at Oscott, giving it for a title "The tree beside the waters." "We are taking," he said, "our last farewell of the remains of one of the old school,—of that old school of Catholics which has characteristics so great and so special. . . His was an unselfish spirit, which labored, and then let others enter into his labors." Pp. 21-22.

Northcote's Time.

Dr. George Morgan, a gentlemanly and scholarly Oscottian of the old type, succeeded Mgr. Weedall, with the Rev. James Spencer Northcote, M. A., an Oxford convert of some five years' standing, as his Vice-President. Catholics were beginning to feel the deficiencies and inconveniences of their long isolation, and the speedy advancement of the young M. A. of Oxford, a man of presence, piety and literary distinction was assured. Accordingly on the retirement of Dr. Morgan at the close of the summer term in 1860, Northcote succeeded him at the age of thirty-nine, and was formally installed on July 10th.²⁵

Northcote, who even less than Wiseman, was bound by the traditions of Oscott, set about remodelling the studies on the plan of the leading English schools. He increased the number

²⁵ Dr. Morgan closed his useful though uneventful career on November 20th, 1861, in his sixtieth year, through heart failure, at the mission of Scatterford, Gloucestershire.

of professors, thus rendering less necessary the assistance of the untrained divines in the work of the classes, and in a short time gathered around him a first-rate staff, which stood with him during his long administration of seventeen years. Among his colleagues should be mentioned the Rev. Edmund Knight, son of Sir Arnold Knight,—his bright and amiable Vice-President (afterwards Bishop of Shrewsbury), Rev. Walter Martin, the pattern of prefects; Rev. H. B. Davies (afterwards Canon) his first prefect of studies, an Oscotian of long and varied experience and distinguished as a student, an athlete and a professor of the higher classes; Rev. John Hawksford (afterwards President) and Rev. William Stone, a most devoted son of the College,—both excellent Prefects of studies,—and professors like the Rev. Charles Meynell, D. D., Rev. Henry Walker, M. A., and Rev. W. H. Bodley, M. A. Nor should we forget laymen like Charles Jeffries, one of the finest classical scholars in the country or Robert S. Moody, M. A.

In addition to the private examinations for which particular boys were prepared, he introduced public Collegiate examinations. Himself a good classical scholar, he always took one of the higher classes, and impressed those about him with a love of work and a taste for scholarship, as may be seen for example in his Oscott sermons. Other external professional assistance was secured, the boys being examined by Oxford 'Dons,' and the staff of the Birmingham Oratory School. Dr. Northcote used to lecture splendidly, especially on recreative subjects. He was a schoolmaster of a broad and enlightened type,—above all things an ideal priest, in all things gentlemanly and high-spirited, full of dignity, yet affable and playful, and a true bond of union among the staff and in the College at large.

Shortly after he had entered upon his duties he encouraged the foundation of the Oscotian Society, one of the first of its kind; he enriched the College with many beautiful and costly gifts. Towards the close of 1862 an outbreak of scarlatina appeared, which after subsiding, again recurred, so that it was thought advisable to send the boys home. In 1866 he had to undergo the painful ordeal of the Fitzgerald v. Northcote trial,

in which he was the defendant in a case brought by Judge Fitzgerald for an alleged assault upon and the unlawful dismissal of his son from the College the previous year. Fitzgerald, one of the senior students, had been dismissed as being the prime mover in a conspiracy, the object of which would render intolerable the lives of the Church students in the house. His pocket-book containing evidence had been taken from him by the Prefect, and for a short time before his depatruure, he had been locked in his room to prevent his holding any communication with the other boys. After a three days' hearing a verdict was given for the plaintiff, damages being assessed at £5; and for the retention of the pocket-book, 1s. The verdict carried costs, amounting to nearly £800; these, however, were paid almost entirely by the generous subscriptions of friends.²⁶

In 1868 the College suffered a distressful visitation of diphtheria, to which five of the household or dependents succumbed, and in less than two years, from one cause or another, eight or nine deaths of students, servants, or professors occurred within the College precincts.

During Northcote's period of office the Academic Hall, the last of Weedall's projects, was erected, and on account of his generous donation of £1000 on leaving the College in 1877, it has since been known as "The Northcote Hall." He likewise constructed the gymnasium, the swimming bath, the cricket ground and the pavilion. But while he had the advantage of a splendid presence, his health, never robust, yielded eventually to the strain of unceasing application, and after more than one break-down, he was compelled to resign in July, 1877.²⁷

Northcote held office longer than any other President without

²⁶ *Report of the Trial: Fitzgerald v. Northcote and another.* Burns, 1886.

²⁷ He retired first to Stone, then to his former mission of Stoke-on-Trent, where he worked for nearly thirty years longer, though during the latter years of his life his limbs were rendered useless by paralysis. The Golden Jubilee of his priesthood was celebrated with unusual honor twenty-eight years after he quitted the College. He died on March 3rd, 1907, and after the solemn Requiem at Stoke, at which Dr. Barry, a quondam pupil delivered an address, his body was conveyed to Oscott, where it lies in the cemetery he opened in 1863, under the shadow of the chapel.

an interruption. He maintained the best traditions of the College, and made it a great public school, worthy for its tone, its discipline, its piety and its scholarship, to take its place with any school in the country. Still, while it is true to speak of this presidency as "The Golden age of Oscott," it is also true that a certain decline set in from this time. The epidemic of diphtheria affrighted parents, and the trial gave notoriety without increasing prestige. After these misfortunes the College never regained the position it had previously held. Add to these causes of decline the increasing competition among Catholic colleges, the diminution of the contingent of boys from Ireland, and the gradual withdrawal of Church students on account of the establishment of the Diocesan Seminary at Olton.²⁸

The Closing Years of the Mixed College.

No more devoted Oscottian could have been chosen to succeed Dr. Northcote than the Rev. John Hawksford, an able and experienced teacher of boys, and a man of strong principle and transparent candor. He had known Oscott from a youth, and had lived and taught there for a space of twenty-five years. Continuity with the prosperous age of Northcote was ensured by retaining men who had worked under his guidance. Dr. Barry was called in to teach theology, and the Rev. William Greaney, who had distinguished himself in various departments when a divine, was invited to assume the manifold responsibilities of the Vice-President. The school-work prospered steadily; much was done for the domestic convenience and comfort of the household; the festivities and solemnities of collegiate life were maintained at a high standard; the Roman Society and Cardinal Newman visited the College. The distinctive and permanent feature perhaps of this short period was the formation of the Ecclesiastical Museum by the Vice-President, which opened a new era in the influence and interests

²⁸ *Oscottian*, July, 1907. Northcote Number.

of the place, and people began to learn what an accumulation of art treasures had been imperceptibly growing since the inauguration of the New College in 1838. But ill health brought on in the service of the College caused the President to place his resignation in the hands of the Bishop on October 4th, 1880.

After a rest of some months he received the appointment of Rector of the parish of St. Austin's, Stafford; but he soon found that at the age of fifty-seven, it was impossible to change the habits and tastes of a lifetime, so he asked to be allowed to take up his residence as a simple professor at St. Wilfrid's College, Oakemoor, North Staffordshire,—the successor of Sedgley Park School—where in 1883 he became President, an office which he held for twelve years. He then resigned, but only to continue his vocation of teaching till his death on December 17th, 1905.²⁹

Dr. Edward Acton, an Oscotian and son of a distinguished student of the Old College, entered upon office in October, 1880, ably seconded by his friend the Rev. Joseph J. Daly. He brought together a strong and loyal staff of clerics and laymen. His rule of something over four years furnishes a true type of sustained, vigorous collegiate activity and development. The provisions of earlier times left little room for material expansion, but the Northcote Hall was completed, the beautiful chapel redecorated, and the *Oscotian Magazine* revived.

Unfortunately Dr. Acton's tenure of office came to a premature end through a division in the local cabinet, in consequence of which the President felt called upon to tender his resignation on January 1st, 1885.³⁰ The Bishop without delay entrusted the care of the establishment to the Very Rev. Joseph H. Souter,—the President of St. Wilfrid's—a man of wide and varied experiences in financial and educational matters. He brought with him not only some external resemblance to the great Weedall, but also a personal attachment to him, and

²⁹ *Oscotian*, April, 1906, pp. 98-103.

³⁰ See *The Tablet*, March 11, 1899, p. 382.

a keen appreciation of his spirit. Once more the College was equipped with a staff that will bear favorable comparison with any of its predecessors; and in the theological department it may be described as excellent, having such men as Dr. (now Mgr.) Schobel, Dr. McIntyre, Rev. F. W. Keating (now Bishop of Northampton) and the Rev. J. Hopwood, afterwards President of St. Wilfrid's. The Rev. John Caswell,—who had received his training under Dr. Northcote, and had well won his spurs as tutor of the younger boys, and especially as spiritual director under subsequent Presidents,—accepted the position of Vice-President. The judicious management of Canon, now Monsignor Souter cleared off all outstanding liabilities, and in paying off the last instalment to the Bishops who represented the interest of the old Midland District in the institution, he secured the College and its dependencies as the exclusive property of the Bishop of Birmingham. In July, 1888, the Golden Jubilee of the College was celebrated with all solemnity and grandeur, on which occasion appeared the Jubilee number of the *Oscotian*, an indispensable book of reference for the history, students and professors of the College.³¹ The number of boys at Oscott in July of the Jubilee year was but eighty-five; but nothing daunted, the valiant staff pushed on, hoping for better days as the result of their striving. Undoubtedly, the actual financial condition of the establishment was sound. The annual Syllabus of the year's work shows evidence of unremitting earnestness. The Archbishop of Cabasa, Dr. Ullathorne, who had been living in retirement at the College for some years, closed his long and eventful career on St. Benedict's day, 1889, at the age of eighty-three.³²

All went on smoothly and cheerfully, till the month of June, when the following letter from the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Ilsley, came as one of the great surprises of life to most of those residing in the College.

³¹ See *The Tablet*, July 28, August 4, 1889, pp. 138, 177.

³² *The Tablet*, March, 1889, pp. 464, 502.

Bishop's House, Birmingham,

June 20th, 1889.

My dear Monsignore,

During the last few months various circumstances have combined to direct my attention to the subject of the education of our aspirants to the priesthood. As the matter is one which vitally affects the College over which you preside, it is my duty to make known to you the conclusion at which I have arrived.

Ever since the Seminary of St. Bernard was founded in 1873, we have felt the difficulty of supplying the material for the two schools of theology at Olton and at Oscott. Of late the anomaly of maintaining a double staff and two bodies of students has been only more apparent; and the conviction has been forced upon me that sooner or later the unification of the two schools was inevitable. When therefore it became necessary to choose between the two, the advantage was manifestly on the side of Oscott, and Oscott has been selected as the permanent home of the Diocesan Seminary. It was founded, as you know, primarily for the purpose of educating priests for the Central District. It is true it was also intended to serve for the education of the laity; and this double purpose was subsequently approved by the Holy See as a provincial arrangement until such time as we had means to establish separate schools for clergy and laity. But we can no longer plead inability to maintain a diocesan seminary according to the mind of the Church. Now the mind of the Church is clear. She will have aspirants to the priesthood provided with such an education and training in a congenial atmosphere and with such surroundings as will afford a reasonable hope that they will come forth not merely possessing the requisite technical knowledge, but thoroughly imbued with the priestly spirit, and fully equipped for their work. Hence she will not tolerate the existence of a lay college within the walls of a seminary, especially in a country like this where colleges for the laity abound.

This decision will, I fear, cause you serious disappointment, and give pain to your excellent body of clergy and students,

and to many friends of the College outside who may fail to see why it cannot continue to discharge its two-fold function as heretofore. But my duty to the diocese, and loyal obedience to the dictates of the Church in the discharge of that duty, must outweigh every other consideration. And it is this sense of duty alone that has nerved me for the painful task of closing to the laity the doors of my own Alma Mater, and erasing from the roll of Catholic Colleges one which can boast such a record of useful service, and one with whose history, extending over well-nigh a century, are bound up such distinguished and honored names in every profession and sphere of life.

Let me say in conclusion, that this resolution has been taken not without mature deliberation and consultation with the Cathedral Chapter and other friends of the College.

You are hereby authorized to take such measures as, with due consideration for the interests of all parties concerned, you judge expedient for giving effect to this decision.

I pray God to bless you, and remain, my dear Monsignore,

Your devoted servant in J. C.,

✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Birmingham.

The Right Rev. Monsignor Souter.

On receiving the above communication from the Bishop of the Diocese, the President of the College, Mgr. Souter, addressed a circular letter to the parents of the boys.

St. Mary's College, Oscott, Birmingham,

June 21st, 1889.

Dear

The enclosed letter from the Bishop of Birmingham will explain why I have to notify to the friends of St. Mary's Oscott, that the College is about to be closed to lay students.

It is no part of my duty to discuss the wisdom of the decision that has been come to. I have merely to state that, in accordance with his Lordship's directions, after the present term St. Mary's will be open to receive ecclesiastical students only.

Naturally, nothing remains for me but to tender my resignation, and to thank the parents and friends of the students who have during the past five years been confided to my care, for much personal kindness and even friendship which I have met with at their hands. I owe it to them to say how much I regret that it should be deemed necessary to close this old "historic College" to their sons; and I owe it to myself and to my Collegiate staff to affirm that nothing in the internal condition of the College, or of its studies or of its finances, has contributed to a change which so many will deplore. On the contrary, never has there been more harmony among the officials, never more activity in the matter of public examinations, or greater ease as regards the financial position of the College than at present.

It is further due to myself to state that when, on occasion of our Jubilee celebration last year, the Oscottian Society signalized the event by the munificent donation of £1000 to the College, I had not the faintest suspicion that we were on the eve of so important a change in the destinies of St. Mary's.

Under the somewhat trying circumstances in which I and those who are associated with me are suddenly placed, we have thought it advisable to close the academic year without Exhibition or Society Meeting. It has cost me much to come to this decision; but I feel that you will agree with me that it is not open to me to adopt any other course.

Once more thanking you for the confidence placed in me,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

J. H. SOUTER.³³

³³ The above letters were published in *The Tablet*, June 29, 1889, p. 1005, and among the notes of the week we find the following paragraph which will contribute to a more complete understanding of the situation.

"The news that the name of Oscott has been suddenly wiped out from the list of the Catholic Schools of England, will be received with universal regret. Elsewhere we publish a letter from the Bishop of Birmingham announcing his decision to Mgr. Souter, and a letter from Mgr. Souter breaking the news to the friends of the College. The disadvantage of division and the waste of power caused

The boys left on July 22d, and on July 30th the annalist of the College wrote in the ponderous tome which Weedall had begun in 1830: "Here endeth the record of St. Mary's College, Oscott. R. I. P."

In the following article we shall deal with the educational work of Oscott in the past, and of Oscott and its work as at present constituted.

HENRY PARKINSON.

by the existence of two ecclesiastical seminaries in a single diocese are obvious. And the decision of the Bishop, painful as it will be to many, was probably made the more easy by the fact that the numbers of the boys at Oscott had been dwindling for years. From its normal number of 100 students the College had been reduced to 60. Many of its old friends had deserted it for newer schools, and we understand that out of all the Catholic families of the diocese there were found only two to send their sons to Oscott. Recognising these facts, the Bishop has resolved to sacrifice sentiment and tradition, and excluding lay students make Oscott the permanent Diocesan Seminary. That many will hear of this step with a passionate regret is a foregone conclusion; that every one who cares for the story of English Catholic life will feel sorry for the need of it is also certain; but we doubt whether any one who weighs the reasons and has not let his judgment be clouded by memories will greatly quarrel with this decision which the Bishop and the Chapter have taken." *l. c.*, p. 1006.

NOTES ON EDUCATION.

THE TEACHING OF RELIGION.

It has been too often assumed that the child's first book should deal exclusively with the formal art of reading. Content was ignored and verbal drills with occasional illustrations in black and white of the meaning of words filled out the pages of the child's first book. Syllables were built out of letters and words built out of syllables, then followed a series of attempts to build sentences by adding a single word at a time. The dreariness of these books is quite enough to discourage the most robust appetite for reading, and yet, these books were supposed to give the child a love for reading and to awaken his imagination and fire his enthusiasm.

Of late years many writers of primary books have attempted to change this and to take content into account, but the content was for the most part fragmentary and devoid of enduring interest for the child. Moreover, in many cases a compromise with the old system was resorted to, especially in the first book. Again, the content in most instances was decided upon wholly on the ground of the child's present interest. Now, it was supposed that the child is not interested in anything so much as play, and hence play was made to furnish forth the chief content of the first reader. Even when nature study was drawn upon to furnish material for the first reader there was very seldom continuity and little more was attempted than to aid in sharpening the child's power of observation.

Of course the child must be taught to read, but the content should supply interest. Moreover, if the art of reading is to be taught properly, the child must be taught to think in the written symbol from the very beginning and this can only be done where the content is drawn from his most vigorous apprehension masses. His first written vocabulary should stand for

mental possessions that are the clearest and the strongest and the best organized. In a word, the child's first book should be much more than a first reader, and while attention must be given to the systematic building up in the child's consciousness of a written vocabulary, it must not be forgotten that the most important part of the work is concerned with the right selection of material. Now, it is our contention that religion should furnish the chief material for the child's first book. Religion is fundamental or it is nothing, and the child's need is precisely the fundamental. At the age of six the normal child is unable to deal with the abstract or with the complex, but this does not justify the conclusion that some writers of primary books seem to have arrived at that the child-mind calls for the detail, for the trivial and for the fragmentary. For him it is the mountain range in the distance. Nothing is too big for the child-mind if it is put in simple lines and it is only the big that interests him permanently. The thoughts that are presented to him in his first book should be the germs from which the whole of his conscious life will unfold as naturally as the plant unfolds from the seed. The child's first reading book should, therefore, be preëminently

THE CHILD'S FIRST BOOK IN RELIGION.

Every one with the slightest experience knows that the child of six is unable to comprehend anything that is presented to him in abstract terms. That God is a spirit who cannot be seen with bodily eyes; that He has one nature and three Divine Persons; that He created Heaven and earth and all things out of nothing are statements quite beyond the child's grasp. He can reach a knowledge of God only through a knowledge of Jesus Christ. "All things are delivered to me by my Father; and no one knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and to whom the Son will reveal him." (Luke, x, 22.)

In Religion, First Book, the nature study and the home

scene with which each chapter begins are so constructed as to prepare the child's mind directly and immediately for a knowledge of Our Lord. It is important that Our Lord be presented to the children as soon as possible. He must be presented to them in His humanity in order that their imaginations may lay hold of Him and that their hearts may warm with love towards Him. But it is not less important that He be presented to them as He is, that is, as God the Son, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, and through whom they are to gain a knowledge of God the Father, Creator of Heaven and earth.

The home idea developed in the preliminary lessons is utilized to bridge over for the children the chasm between the human and the Divine. This, it will be remembered, was also Our Lord's method. He taught us to say, "Our Father, who art in Heaven." He taught us to ask of our Heavenly Father just those things on a higher plane that children are accustomed to ask of their earthly fathers, and He taught us to yield to Our Heavenly Father that love and obedience which natural law exacts of every child towards his father.

The way in which the home idea is made to accomplish this end in Religion, First Book, may be seen by an examination of the lesson entitled "The Home of Jesus" (page 16). "The birds have a pretty home in the trees. They are happy and sing sweet songs. We have a happy home with father and mother. We love it better than the robins love their nest. But the home of Jesus is more beautiful than our home. It is Heaven. Jesus came from Heaven where His father lives. He came to show us the way there. When Jesus was on earth He lived in Nazareth."

The idea of the bird's home developed in the preceding lesson serves to make the child appreciate his own home the more. And both the birds' home and his own home are presented to the child as the figure and the prophecy of the greater and more beautiful home of Jesus in Heaven. The plan of these lessons is, consequently, the same as that on which the parables of Our Lord were constructed. "Behold the lilies of the

field how they grow; they toil not neither do they spin. But I say to you that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed as one of these." "And which of you if your son ask for bread will you reach him a stone? . . . And how much more you Heavenly Father?"

Christ always ascended from the tangible and concrete to the spiritual and the invisible. He always took human love as a type of the Divine. And the love of the animal for her young He did not disdain as a type of parental love, either in man or in God. "How often would I have gathered you under my wings even as a hen gathereth her chickens."

When Our Lord is apperceived by the child through the means of the home idea, the next thing to be accomplished is to develop in the child's mind the idea of Christ's Divinity. Now, this is foreshadowed for the children in the fact that His home is in Heaven. He had only a temporary abiding place in Nazareth when He lived on earth. He is brought near to the children in His humanity by the fact that He had a home just as they have, only more beautiful, and by the further fact that He came from His Heavenly home out of love for us and to show us the way there. His Divinity and the fact that He is the Son of God, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, is indicated by the statement that He came from His Heavenly home where His Father lives. The child having thus attained in simple outline to the thought of the humanity and Divinity of Christ is given the germ of the idea of Christ's mission in the statement that He came from Heaven to show us the way there.

In this simple lesson the germs of the great fundamental truths of Christianity are implanted in concrete form in the child's consciousness. Our next step must be to develop these same truths in the mind and heart of the child and to render them functional in his conduct. This is attempted in the subsequent lessons of the chapter. In the lesson "A Welcome to Jesus" (page 17) the idea of Creation is made use of to develop in the child the consciousness of the Divinity of the Father and the Divine Sonship of Christ. "The birds welcome

Jesus because His Father gives them their sweet songs. His Father teaches them how to fly and how to build their nests. He fills the hearts of the birds with love."

Here the things that the child has learned to know and to love in the nature study are employed to bring home to him the fact of Creation. The Father of Jesus creates those things which the child knows best and through this the child is led into the thought naturally that He creates everything else also. This idea is suggested to the child together with the corresponding duty of gratitude on the part of the creature in the lines "The trees wave a welcome to Jesus because His Father makes them big and strong. The roses and lilies open their hearts to Him. They fill the air with sweet smells because His Father sends them the sunshine and the rain." In this lesson it will be noticed that the fact of Creation is first allowed to occupy the child's mind and then it drops into the background to give place to the gratitude of creatures towards the Creator, for it is here we wish the child's consciousness to rest, and it is through this gratitude, expressed in the child's conduct, that he will grow into a fuller realization of the mystery of Creation. "Because thou wert faithful over a few things I will place thee over many." "Not he who sayeth Lord, Lord shall enter the kingdom, but he that doth the will of my Father."

In Lesson VII of the Baltimore Catechism the question is asked "Why is Jesus Christ true God?" and the answer is given "Jesus Christ is true God because He is the true and only Son of God the Father." In the lesson "A Welcome to Jesus" which we are considering, the Father of Jesus is presented as the Creator of all those things that the child knows and loves. Thus the Divine Sonship of Jesus is presented in a concrete and germinal form instead of in an abstract form which could not be assimilated by the child. But the lesson does more than this. It presents all creatures as welcoming Jesus and the reason which the child is led to discern back of this welcome is the fact that the Father of Jesus created them. The child is led by his imitative impulses, which are dominant in those early years of his life, to make suitable return to his Creator.

Furthermore, Jesus coming from His beautiful home in Heaven to show us the way there is to the child an example of love that extends beyond the home circle and this exerts its gentle persuasion on the child's heart and leads him into a love for fellow man. A mere statement to the child that he should love his fellow creatures has little meaning to him and produces little or no effect in his life, but an example such as is here presented appeals to the child's imitative tendency and through this means it is readily organized in his life. In short, these two brief lessons implant in the child's heart the two-fold commandment of the New Law and this is reinforced and further developed as the lesson proceeds. "Jesus loves the sunbeams and the breezes. He loves the sky and the stars. He loves the birds and the flowers. He loves the sheep and the shepherd." In a word, Jesus is presented to the child as loving all God's creatures because He recognizes in them His brothers according to the measure of their perfection, for He is not made to love them all equally. He loves most those who stand nearest to Himself in perfection and so the climax is reached in the line "He loves all who work for others." But however perfect in this respect any creature may be, he still falls short of the Divine Model, for "No one is so kind and gentle as Jesus."

In the subsequent lesson, "A Secret," the relative excellence of creatures is further developed. The birds, the trees and the flowers welcome Jesus as He approaches or as He passes by, but they are unable to follow Him, to learn of Him or to imitate His example, all of which it is our privilege to do. In this lesson the child is taught to look upon Jesus as his teacher and to take His words to heart. "Wherever Jesus goes the people follow Him." They are made glad whenever they hear His voice or look into His face. He gives the secret which He brought from Heaven to every one who loves Him." Here the child learns the necessity of loving Our Lord in order to receive the gifts which He brings from Heaven and in order to understand the lessons which He came to teach. The fruit of the lessons learned at the feet of Jesus is shown to the child

in the following sentences: "When we learn this secret we love one another. Then joy grows in our hearts like a beautiful flower. It fills our lives with sweetness." Here the reward of virtue is presented not as the motive for the child's actions but as the consequence of actions which spring from love of God. It is the lesson of the Master translated into the child's mode of thinking: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice and all these things shall be added unto you." This lesson is rendered particularly attractive to the children by the beautiful colored picture of Jesus teaching from the boat. In this picture is summed up the story of the two lessons. Here are the flowers and the trees, the sunbeams and the rippling waters. Here are the sheep and the shepherd, and those who work for others and whom Jesus particularly loves. Here are the people who were made glad when they heard the voice of Jesus and the people to whom He is giving the secret which He brought from Heaven. Here are the men and the women and the children. But He is chiefly concerned with the men and women. The rapt look on their faces shows how deeply their hearts are stirred by the words of this Divine Teacher. The children are present but the hour is not for them. They must wait their turn. In the next lesson, "The Tired Teacher," the children are made to realize that Jesus has a message for them also. Nor is it that He talks to them when He has nothing else to do. Their claim on Him is recognized and responded to in spite of fatigue. "One day, long, long ago, Jesus taught the people until He was very tired. Then His friends made Him rest." In this the children receive a much needed lesson in thoughtfulness for others, particularly for their parents and teachers. Young children are essentially selfish. They take every thing and give nothing in return so long as they are under the sway of instinct. Until they are taught otherwise they do not realize that the giving costs their parents or their teachers anything. This realization, it is needless to say, lies at the root of Christian character. It will not do to substitute for it mere obedience to external rules of courtesy. Such obedience may be secured through fear or

hope of reward but it fails to be virtue unless it springs from the heart. It is through development along this line that the child will come in time to realize all that he owes to his earthly parents and to his Saviour, who gave Himself up to death on the cross that we might have life everlasting.

In the subsequent lesson the aim is to bring the children close to Our Lord in their feelings by associating Him with thoughts of their own parents and of all that is brightest and sweetest in the world around them. "The grass is green. The sun shines brightly. The birds sing sweetly. There are pretty flowers every where. The children play and sing with their mothers. Some of them pick flowers to give to their fathers when they come home from work. After a while they all go over to where Jesus is resting. His friends tell them to go away and not to trouble Jesus, but Jesus hears them and says: "Let the little children come unto me and forbid them not."

Incidentally this lesson contains a suggestion to the mothers that may in some cases prove valuable. If the children were accustomed to pick flowers to give to their fathers when they come home from work, or when this is impossible to show in some other tangible way that they were thinking of father and watching for him, home would be a happier place than it often is at present. Thus, while the home lessons that preceded the Biblical lessons are intended to prepare the children to comprehend the higher spiritual truths, the religious lessons should in turn send the children back to the home scene strengthened and reinforced in many ways.

The picture of Jesus blessing little children and the written story descriptive of the scene are such as will captivate any normal child and rivet his attention. The lessons will fill the hearts of the children to overflowing with love and gratitude to Jesus and prepare them to receive the lessons which He teaches them in the story that follows. "They all ask Jesus to take them to see His Father and His home. He tells them they must wait a while and do some work for Him on earth. He tells them to be good to every one. He tells them to love

their parents, and then He will take them and all they love to His Father's home, and they can stay with Him and His Father forever and ever. He teaches them to say 'Our Father,' etc."

In this lesson the children's duties towards their parents and towards their neighbors are insisted upon and reinforced by all the power of the ascendancy which Jesus is gaining over their young hearts. They are taught the necessity of working out their salvation here on earth and they are promised the reward of eternal life for fidelity and obedience to the will of their Heavenly Father, and finally they are taught to lift up their young hearts in prayer and to petition their Heavenly Father for all they stand in need of.

We are now in a position to examine what has been accomplished in the eight brief pages of this lesson in religion and to compare it with the results of the prevalent methods of teaching Christian Doctrine. Abstract terms and abstract concepts have been avoided throughout. The truths taught are embodied in imagery and phenomena that are easily within the child's reach and that have for the most part been thoroughly developed in the child's consciousness. Repetition is necessary to the child, but if it is to be effective it must be repetition that does not stale. The child at this age is interested chiefly in action. Static descriptions cannot hold his attention for any length of time. In presenting the idea of Creation it will be observed how often it has been repeated, but each time in a new setting and in action rather than in any passive embodiment. Again, the Divine Sonship is not presented in a single statement which the child is required to repeat over and over again until it is engraven on his memory, but each statement of Creation carries with it the thought of the Divine Sonship, for it is the Father of Jesus who gives the birds their songs, who makes the trees grow, who sends the sunshine and the rain, etc.

In like manner, the truth that the child acquires is not allowed to remain inactive in his mind until it becomes encysted there and prevented from bearing its proper fruit in conduct. The natural consequences of the religious truths, as

far as human conduct is concerned, are presented to the child over and over again in forms that reach him through his imitative tendencies. Thus he is not told to act in such and such definite ways, but his impulses are laid hold of and moulded so that he shall desire to act in the right way. There is a wide range of doctrine and of moral teaching compressed within very narrow limits in this lesson, and yet because it is presented in a form suitable to the child, little difficulty will be experienced in giving the lesson to very young children and in giving it in such a way, too, as to render it immediately effective in moulding their feelings, their thoughts and their actions.

Glancing back over the pictures and stories of which this part of the book is made up, it will be observed that they are all parts of one parable, that the natural elements, however conspicuous, are used chiefly for the purpose of lifting up the minds and hearts of the children to the contemplation of the highest spiritual truths. Here creatures are used, as they should be used in a Christian school, to captivate the minds and hearts of the children and to lead the little ones to the foot of the throne of grace. What begins in play terminates in prayer. In playing robin building a home the child is given an opportunity to express the things he has seen and heard and his imagination is filled with delight by the play, but this is only that it may lead him into keener perceptions and into a more willing fulfillment of his duties towards his home and towards God.

Finally, the entire lesson is summed up in the four stanzas of the song which follows. The first stanza emphasizes the thing that is of chief value in the life of the birds; the second stanza does the same for human life; the third stanza attributes all that is of value in the life of the birds and in the life of men to Our Saviour; while the fourth stanza is the call to the higher life which sums up all that is of value on earth or in heaven. The children are expected to memorize this song and to sing it frequently. Song is the child's natural mode of expression and when the song is of such a nature as to reach his intelligence and touch the springs of his feeling there are few other

means so powerful in lifting truth into the life of his mind and of rendering it fruitful in his conduct. A second song is added to give variety but its purpose is the same, viz., to sum up the stories and to organize them in the child's life. Of course the songs are intended to be taught as rote songs. It is admitted by all who are engaged in the work of teaching music to little children that the first requisite is to give the child the feeling of what he is to sing. If it fills his imagination and warms his heart, he will sing as naturally as a bird sings and with as little danger to his voice, but this topic will be dealt with elsewhere. The Church has always recognized the value of song and she has incorporated it into her ritual where it holds a conspicuous place.

The remaining four parts of Religion, First Book, are constructed on the same lines as the part we have just analyzed. The sequence of the lessons in each part is the same; the principles underlying the method are identical and hence there will be little difficulty experienced by any teacher in furnishing an appropriate commentary. A brief outline of these parts will suffice here.

Providence is the theme in the second part. The father bird and the mother bird feeding their young find joy in working for others and in giving rather than receiving. In the domestic scene the lesson of the two mothers develops parental love and generosity. The superiority of the human over the animal world is developed in "A Family Breakfast." In "Feeding her Birds" the complexity of home is developed to some extent. The father working in the garden, the mother feeding her children, the various occupations of the children and their love and care for one another are brought out here, and the dependence of the chickens upon man, of the lower upon the higher order of beings, is also suggested. In the Biblical lesson the compassion of Our Lord for the hungry multitude is brought into the foreground by the miracle of the loaves and fishes and the answering gratitude of the multitude is placed before the children as an example for their imitation. The two songs that follow are the complements of each other. The first sums up the things

for which we should be grateful to God, the second is a hymn of thanks. The theme in the first part of the book might be summed up in *Our Father who art in Heaven*; the theme of the second part in *Give us this day our daily bread*; and the theme of the third part in *Lead us not into temptation*.

The timidity of the young robins in leaving their nest, their growing familiarity with the lawn which leaves them a prey to curiosity, a temptation which leads them into danger, from which they are rescued by their parents, is the drama as presented in bird life. This is repeated in the life of the little girl who is timid when the chick is first placed in her hand, but through familiarity she grows bold and runs into danger by seeking to make friends with the goslings. She is rescued from danger by her mother. It is not difficult to recognize in these little dramas the foreshadowing of temptation, sin and forgiveness, or the story of the fall and the redemption of the race. The same theme is developed again on a higher plane in the Biblical story and in the picture of Peter sinking. The storm at sea adds the further element that when we are loyal to duty God is with us and we need have no fear.

The theme of the fourth part is *Deliver us from evil*; it is meant to teach the children the truth that in the hour of trial and disaster Jesus is our refuge.

In the fifth and last part of the book the children are prepared for the mystery of the Nativity. The humanity of Christ is emphasized. Christ in coming down to earth to show us the way to Heaven became like one of us so that we might more readily follow His example. The greatness of this event in human history is suggested to the child by the preparation of the world for Christ's coming and particularly by the preparation of Mary Immaculate to be His mother. The children are told about Mary and Joseph and Guardian Angels and finally the Nativity scene completes the story. The *Adeste Fideles* and a Lullaby sum up this part and complete the book.

This theme is continued in the opening chapter of Religion, Second Book, in which the Annunciation scene is used to teach

the children that their Heavenly Father sent down this perfect child to Mary, the most perfect of the children of men, because of her perfect obedience to His will.

We may sum up what has been said of Religion, First Book, in its capacity of the child's first book of religious instruction by saying that it contains five parables in each of which a scene from bird life is used to develop a corresponding scene in human life and to teach the child his duties in relation to the truth presented. The two scenes are then used as the natural basis of the corresponding supernatural truth and supernatural virtue. The movement in each case is the same as that in Our Lord's parables. The truths are thus presented to the child in such a way that they fill his senses and lay hold of his imagination; they are lifted into the structure of his conscious life and find expression in his thoughts, words and deeds. In other words, the truths are not carried by the child as a memory load, they have become a joyous part of his life.

READING.

The Atlantic Educational Journal for January, 1909, contains an article from the pen of Thomas M. Balliet, Ph. D., Dean of the School of Pedagogy in New York University, on *Reading*, which deserves to be carefully studied by all primary teachers. A great deal of the poor work that is so generally complained of at present, particularly in our public schools, may be traced, in some measure at least, to the failure of these schools to teach the pupils to read properly. I do not allude to artistic oral reading, which is, of course, something very much to be desired, but to the way in which pupils learn silent reading as a means of acquiring knowledge from books. Psychology has done much to improve our methods in the various departments of educational work but its message in this department seems to be very generally unheeded. The teacher frequently proceeds on the assumption that the one thing to be accomplished for the child is to give him the ability to recognize the letters of the alphabet and their varied combinations

into words and sentences. It does not seem to occur to him that the printed forms are but the means of revealing the thoughts that lie back of them. What in the nature of the case is but a means is made the end of the child's labors in the mistaken supposition that things will right themselves as the pupils pass up through the grades. The fact that thousands of pupils issue from the schools with some ability to recognize words and little ability to grasp the thought beneath them has not been sufficient to make these teachers pause and question the validity of their work. And when blame for the finished product of the grammar school is meted out the real culprits who started the pupils on a wrong course in the primary grades frequently escape notice. But let us listen to Dr. Balliet:

"Teaching a child to read, because it is done in the primary school, is popularly supposed to be a very easy thing; and yet there are more unsolved problems in it than are involved in the teaching of the foreign languages, mathematics, or sciences in the high school. It is not a question of the 'word method,' 'sentence method,' 'phonic method,' and other so-called 'methods'; there are involved intricate questions in psychology which remain yet to be solved."

The first problem that should be solved by the teacher is to place means and ends in their proper relationship to each other and to ascertain whether it is wise or even permissible to reverse this natural relationship in order to give the child a start. "Why do we teach a child to read? The mere process of learning to read has no special educational value. The value of reading lies in what is read after the art is acquired. . . . We must appreciate the fact in teaching reading that learning to read is solely a means; and unless we have in mind the real end, we may easily defeat this very end by wrong methods of procedure. Archbishop Whately once said that he 'knew a man who aimed at nothing and—hit it.' Again, why do we teach a child to read? In order that he may easily and quickly absorb the sense of the printed page and do it with all necessary accuracy. It is the mastery of books, the ability quickly and accurately to master the thought of the printed

page, that should be the chief aim in teaching a child to read. We may view method in teaching reading in the primary grades from the standpoint of the child learning to read, in which case we judge the method by the rapidity of his advancement. This has been the universal custom up to the present time. We may, however, view method from the standpoint of the adult, inquire first how the adult ought to read and then adopt the method in the primary school which develops the power, or the habits, of reading desirable in the adult."

Once the case is stated in these words it is somewhat difficult to understand why there should be any hesitancy in choosing between the alternatives. In every other department, as indeed in every phase of life's work, the end is the thing that is constantly kept in view in determining methods and means. The work of the school as a whole is to prepare the child for successfully coping with the conditions of the environment which he must enter on leaving school and the efficiency of the schools must be judged wholly on this basis. Mental development along any line where development may be secured is not a legitimate aim in the process of education. Education is a social institution whose chief function is to adjust the child to his environment and whatever does not contribute to this end should find no place in the school. Dr. Balliet is, therefore, on lines of practical common sense which at the same time represent the highest educational wisdom, when he essays to answer these two questions:

"How should the educated adult read? How may we train children to read in that way? The educated adult in reading recognizes words, phrases and short sentences as wholes; and there are those exceptional people who say they can take in whole paragraphs, if short, as a unit. This latter statement needs careful experimental investigation before it can safely be accepted. But no educated adult spells out his words when he reads, except occasional unfamiliar words; the smallest unit is an entire word. Now, this habit of recognizing words as wholes without being clearly conscious of their parts is a desirable reading habit in the adult. It makes for speed in

reading. But of two habits of doing the same thing, the one acquired first tends to persist rather than the second. This is a familiar psychological fact, therefore, the habit which ought to last through life should be acquired first. The adult must have the habit of seeing words as wholes, but he must also know letters and their sounds so that he may be able to make out the pronunciation of new words by himself. In teaching a child to read we should, therefore, develop first the habit of seeing words and if possible phrases, as wholes; and only when this habit has been fairly well established should we analyze the words into letters and their sounds. This would seem to indicate that the sentence and word method judiciously combined are to be preferred at the beginning to the phonic method now so widely used. Phonics must be taught—the only question is whether at the beginning or later. I should say later—during the second and third year of school.”

The truth so clearly stated here cannot be too strongly insisted upon. When language is learned from the rules of grammar it always remains stiff and artificial as a means of expression and as a means of acquiring thought. It is now generally conceded that the child should grow into an easy mastery of his language before he takes up the study of its grammar. The latter is a process of analysis and of reasoning; the former, a process of natural growth. You can make the parts of a manikin and put them together, but the result is a manikin. A man grows in a different way. And where the child's power to read is a growth, it does not come from combinations of letters into syllables and of syllables into words. This thought is closely allied to the one which the Doctor develops next.

“Another desirable reading habit in the adult is unconsciousness of the printed page. Absolute unconsciousness of the printed page is, of course, impossible; I mean that minimum degree of unconsciousness which, because the reader is deeply absorbed in the thought of what he is reading, leads him to overlook faulty punctuation, incorrect spelling, inverted type, etc. In reading a vivid description, say, in *Ivanhoe*, one may

see the picture in his imagination as if it were painted on canvas, and be entirely oblivious of his surroundings and almost wholly unconscious of the page before him. This habit of unconsciousness of the page in reading makes for speed and for thoroughness in grasping the thought. All needless consciousness of the page robs the mind of just so much power to grasp the thought. Needless consciousness of the page in reading is therefore a waste of mental energy; and to teach a child to read so that he will read in his adult years with a minimum degree of consciousness of the printed page is equivalent to doing the proverbially impossible thing in education—furnishing him brains. It sets mental power free to be used in comprehending what is read. . . . Words are like window panes—they are things to look through, not things to look at. The more invisible they are, the more perfectly do they serve their purpose. Any method in teaching a child to read which makes him needlessly conscious of words, which fosters in him the habit of needlessly scrutinizing them or of analyzing them needlessly into their component letters or sounds, develops the proof-reader's habit of mind, and may make the process of reading a needlessly conscious one all through life. The child must, of course, scrutinize new words sufficiently to remember them, but any analysis or inspection of words beyond what is necessary for this purpose is unquestionably bad. Again, the sentence and word method seem at the beginning to be preferred to the so-called 'phonic method' which has its place later. Everything which in later life should be done unconsciously, should be taught in the school unconsciously or with a minimum degree of consciousness. It is bad doctrine to say that such processes should be raised to consciousness and then be made unconscious by practice. The difficulty is that in most people such processes never become unconscious. The child learns to pronounce and to speak his mother-tongue mainly by unconscious imitation and he speaks it unconsciously; the adult learns to speak a foreign language by a process that is keenly conscious, and he is seldom able to speak it without watching his speech. . . . Illustrations from school and from life might be multiplied

indefinitely to show how important it is to teach unconsciously, so far as possible, what must in life be done unconsciously. Reading is one of these things. The phonic and alphabetic methods, used at the beginning, are likely to lead to a wholly unnecessary degree of word consciousness in reading. The fact that they give the child early the power of finding out the pronunciation of new words by himself, does not necessarily recommend them. If they develop the habit of looking at words instead of looking through them, this result would show not in the primary grades, but in the middle and upper grades of the elementary schools where it is attributed to other causes."

The phonic method which is so frequently found at present in the primary grade instead of the alphabetic method of a previous generation is more effective in the attainment of the end sought, but the end sought is very decidedly a vicious one. It is to give the children power of language without content. Give the child the empty forms first, engrave them on his mind, and by and by he will get the thought! But, alas, this method places before the child's mind a veil of words through which he is condemned for the rest of his life to see real things darkly. The fact that so many boys who escaped from school in their childhood have come to the fore-front in the intellectual struggle of maturer years has often been commented upon. There are doubtless, many reasons for this apparent anomaly, but there can be no doubt that we are here dealing with one of them. When the boy's mind unfolds in immediate contact with nature and with real things before he learns to read he is likely to read for content rather than for words, and he is also likely to spend precious little time in poring over primers and first readers. How completely the line of thought presented by Dr. Balliet has been ignored in the work of the primary grade will be manifest by even a casual examination of the typical primer or first reader where the content is almost wholly ignored and stress laid on mere words. Even a picture of a dog and cat in color can hardly lend much dramatic interest to the content of such a page as this: "See the cat the dog See the cat the dog see dog cat See the dog See the

cat." Word drill is the sole aim. Where the primer is constructed along rational lines and where it takes into account the psychology of the child-mind, the content is made dramatic and interesting from the very first page of the primer and the child is made to experience the delight of what comes to him through the medium of words and the art of reading. But for this there must be continuity instead of fragments; there must be action instead of passive description. Talking down to the children must be avoided, for they are scarcely more interested in sermons than are their elders. Word drills, spelling, and phonograms must be relegated to their proper place as means to an end. They must be brought into requisition after the habit of reading for thought's sake is well established and care must be taken at all times not to allow these accessories to displace the thing of chief value. But if this is to be attained several changes will be rendered necessary in our standards. Mere ability to recognize words and pronounce them must not be set up as the standard of work in the first grade. Here, as elsewhere in the system, we shall have to insist upon the content as of more value than the form.

Dr. Balliet developes a third characteristic of a good reading habit in the adult, namely speed. He is referring, of course, to silent reading. The application of what has been said is so obvious that I pass it over in order to reach what, to many a primary teacher, will seem an objection to the method which he advocates, namely, the case of the dull pupil.

"It ought to be said that speed in reading is of special value only to the persons who have a great deal of reading to do; persons who are not engaged in intellectual work and who in any event, would read but little, can afford to read that little slowly. This suggests that bright pupils and dull pupils should not be taught by the same method in reading. With dull pupils, and especially with the high grade feeble-minded, the phonic method, and even the alphabetic method, may be used with other methods from the beginning. They have to analyze words and scrutinize them carefully, else they will not remember them at all. Every primary teacher can testify to this; but to oblige

bright pupils to go through all this analysis and to make them keenly conscious from the start of the elements of words, to develop in them the habit of needlessly scrutinizing words under a mistaken idea of thoroughness, is in many cases, to make them slow readers and to handicap them seriously for life's work. What briefly, is the place of phonics? It seems to me it should follow at least about a year's use of the sentence and word method; and then there should be no more phonic analysis than is necessary to give a child the key to the pronunciation of new words. Any 'thoroughness' beyond this is bad. Therefore the unit of phonic analysis should be kept as large as possible. The 'phonogram' idea, which is not new, but which has in recent years been made popular, is a very good one. Combinations like 'ing' and 'ight,' etc., should never be analyzed into their separate sounds. Indeed, only a limited number of the easier elementary sounds should be taught separately; the rest should be taught in combination. This is true until the pupil is ready to use the dictionary, when somewhat more must be done."

With this view of the use of phonics we are in entire harmony, as may be seen by a study of the books for the primary grades which we have prepared for use in our schools. It may be well to add a thought in which, I am sure, the Doctor would agree, and that is, that the drill work should be kept separate from the reader. The blackboard and chart are the proper places to present word analysis, phonics, etc. Every reasonable means should be employed to preserve for the child the freshness and the delight of the story and the song. Difficult words or difficult intervals should be presented to the children separately and not until they are thoroughly mastered should they be allowed to attempt the finished product in the book.

With one statement of Dr. Balliet's we must take issue. Where he refers to dull pupils, he suggests a method at variance with that which obtains in the case of normal pupils. The doctor's knowledge of these unfortunate children must be comparatively limited or else he must have written this passage thoughtlessly: "This suggests that bright pupils and dull pupils

should not be taught by the same method in reading. With dull pupils, and especially with the high-grade feeble-minded, the phonic method, and even the alphabetic method, may be used with other methods from the beginning. They have to analyze words and scrutinize them carefully else they will not remember them at all. Every primary teacher can testify to this."

Now, there are three things wrong in this statement: First, there is abundant reason for the conviction that is fast gaining ground among the best authorities in this field that the dull and high-grade feeble-minded should be treated as nearly like normal children as possible; secondly, the phonic and word method, if permissible at all in the first grade, should find its place with the very brightest pupils, they are practically impossible with the dull and backward children; thirdly, to compel these poor children to "analyze the words and to scrutinize them carefully" is to defeat their every attempt to learn the difficult art of reading. The testimony of "every primary teacher" is hardly valid in a case of this kind, at least until "every primary teacher" shows incomparably better results in dealing with these children than they have shown in the past, for to their ignorance in this very matter is probably to be traced the backwardness of a great majority of these children.

This problem is attracting more and more interest from all students of education and it will be dealt with in these pages in subsequent issues of the *Bulletin*. Some of the elements of the problem have been set forth in popular form in *The Making and the Unmaking of a Dullard*, but here let me suggest to those interested in the matter a work which has recently issued from Columbia University, *The Psychology of Mentally Deficient Children*, by Naomi Norsworthy, Ph. D., from which we quote.

"It is certainly true that the more like ordinary people these feeble-minded are treated the more like people in general they will become. As they tend to be more immature than other children they are open to suggestion for a longer time. They should have schools, churches, entertainments, trades and the like just as ordinary people do. They need not be mixed in

with people in general but in every case they should be made to feel as nearly like other people as possible."

That the difference between these people and normal people is one of degree rather than one of kind is very generally admitted to-day. Dr. Fernald, of the Institute for the Feeble-minded at Waverly, Mass., says: "In theory the differences between these various degrees of deficiency are marked and distinct, while in practice the lines of separation are entirely indefinite and individuals as they grow to adult life may be successively classed in different grades." Dr. Norsworthy adds: "These lines of division are hair lines and indefinite. . . . There seems to be nothing peculiar and special which marks an idiot off from people in general and by which he can always be known." And again, "But it seems that these children are not so very different from other children and that consequently there is no reason why their education need be. As Dr. Fernald points out, 'As compared with the education of normal children it is a difference of degree and not of kind. With these feeble-minded children, the instruction must begin on a lower plane, the progress is slower and the pupils cannot be carried so far.' . . . If the idiot is simply at the extreme of the ordinary distribution of ability and is characterized by a sluggishness of disposition which may affect both mental and physical advance and development, then what he needs is stirring up, encouragement and, if need be, even forcing in the mental field as well as in the physical."

We need not here deal further with the fact that the dull and high-grade feeble-minded do not differ in kind from normal children but only in degree, or upon the evident conclusion to be drawn from this that the methods to be employed in the one case should be essentially the same as in the other. Adjustment there must be, but here, too, it is a question of degree. But in what direction must the adjustment be made? Surely we must not modify the method of teaching the brighter children in the direction of less objective stimulation and more subtlety in order to make it serviceable for the dull or feeble-minded. To quote from Dr. Norsworthy once more: "In the present-day criti-

cism of the modern educational methods are three points which to my mind have vital bearing on the education of the feeble-minded in the field of physical, mental and industrial training. In the first place, our best educators believe that but a short time should elapse between an act and its result, and that in most cases the result should be definitely pleasurable if the act is a desirable one. The younger the child, the greater the force of this rule." One might add here the duller and the more backward the child the greater the force of this rule.

Now, applying this principle to the method of teaching reading to the beginner, it is evident that the content of what the child reads should yield meaning in terms of sense and muscle and pleasurable stimulation to the imagination, and this immediately. It is from this association that the word is lifted into the permanent organization of the mind. Where this is not the case and where the child is made to learn language for its own sake first by alphabetic methods and phonics the attempt is made to lift written language into the structure of the mind before it is used to yield pleasurable content and thus the result is too far removed from the act.

The second point developed by the Doctor is closely related to this and deserves careful consideration for many other reasons as well as for the light which it sheds on the problem under discussion. "The second point of note is the influence brought to bear by the psychology of memory on our methods of teaching. The memory of any event or fact depends upon two factors, the native retentiveness of the brain substance itself and the number of associates which the particular fact has in terms of 'brain paths.' The former factor cannot be improved. Every individual is limited so far as memory is concerned by the kind of brain with which he was endowed at birth. If it is easily impressed and also one which retains this impression, other things being equal, that person will have a good memory. This being true, it seems rather a poor way to improve the memory either of ordinary children or of defectives, to employ the method of repetition, so endeavoring to hammer a fact home by mere brute force. The better method, certainly, would be

to work along the line of the second factor determining memory, namely, to increase the number of associates. The more clues there are connected with one fact, the more likely will it be that that fact will come to mind when wanted. Now, this method seems particularly applicable to the defective class of children in the light of what we know of the brain development of the feeble-minded. Hammarberg found—and no one has contradicted his statement—that the brains of defectives as wholes or in parts were poorly developed, not so much in the sense that the cells were smaller or necessarily ill-shaped, but that they lacked the arborizations and the multitudes of associative fibres which go to make up a complex cortex, a cortex of the kind which is accompanied by intelligence. . . . Physiology shows that a high rate of intelligence goes with a complex cortex, that the existence of many associations and the like is paralleled by an increased arborization; but which is cause and which is effect no one knows. However, we do know that any one may increase his memory in any line simply by increasing the number of associates in that field. The resulting suggestion is not to depend only upon repetition to fix facts but to let the same fact be met in a dozen ways instead of simply in one. Of course, in the case of some of the lower grades of defectives, the process would have to be very slow and very simple. But certainly what the defectives need is an increased power of association in its broadest sense; and when nature has provided two ways of securing such power, one of which is much narrower than the other, it behooves us to use both and certainly not to neglect the broader of the two.

“The third point of modern criticism which was mentioned as particularly adapted to the defectives grows directly out of this and concerns the facts or associates to be given to the children in school. Shall we consider them simply as storehouses and pack away in their brains every thing that they may possibly need at some future date? Or shall we consider them as living beings, living as children a life as full and rich as they ever will as adults, and hence give them in school and home facts which they really need and in the way in which they will need them.”

It is scarcely necessary to comment on this passage. Its bearing on the method of teaching reading and on the nature of the child's first book is so obvious that no one can miss it. The material of the book must throb with present interest for the child and language must be learned in its true relationship to this interesting content, that is, as a mere means which obliterates itself in order to leave the mind in immediate and undisturbed possession of the food that is to enter into its structure and lift it to the plane of control over physical and mental environment. All this is preëminently true of the young child and especially of the dull and backward child. As the children grow in power and learn from experience something of what books contain for them, their attention may be turned, little by little, to the various forms of analysis of language, such as phonics, spelling, grammar, rhetoric, prosody, etc., but certainly phonics should be used very cautiously if at all in the first grade, and then only with very bright and progressive children where for one reason or another it may seem desirable to unduly hasten their development along this line. In the second and third grade there will be abundant time for this work and if the children are allowed to grow as naturally into the power of written language as they grew into the power of oral language at an earlier date there will be little or no difficulty in dealing with the subject of analysis.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Discourses and Sermons for Every Sunday and the Principal Festivals of the Year. James Cardinal Gibbons, Baltimore. John Murphy Company, 1908. Pp. x, 531.

In his preface, the Cardinal states that these Sermons "were, for the most part, preached in the Baltimore Cathedral before large audiences," and he "indulges the hope that they may be favorably received by a wider circle of readers whom his voice could not reach." As a matter of fact, that circle at once includes all those to whom the "Ambassador of Christ" has borne the message of peace and to whom the "Faith of Our Fathers" has been preached. Though different in scope and structure from his earlier well-known books, this volume is marked by the characteristic qualities which have made the Cardinal's utterances so welcome to Christian hearts. There is the same earnest sympathy with human needs and the same clear, straightforward statement of religious truth. Those who have heard His Eminence in the pulpit will easily recognize in these pages his manner of treating each subject in such a way as to interest his hearers and at the same time to stir them to personal reflection on the lessons of the Gospel. And those also who know him through his writings only, will be impressed by the fact that these are the thoughts of one who in the course of a long experience has pondered deeply the gravest of life's problems and now gives the world his mature convictions.

The Church has so arranged her liturgy as to bring before us in the course of the year the principal events in the life of Christ and to recall His teaching by means of the passages from Scripture that are appointed to be read at Mass. With these texts, especially with those selected for the Sundays and greater festivals, every Catholic is familiar. Their essential meaning is always the same because the plan of Redemption through all time is invariable. But the force and depth of Christ's teaching is realized anew when it is brought to bear upon actual conditions, subject as these are to ceaseless change. The Sermons before us illustrate in a remarkable degree this principle of adaptation. They show a careful study of many questions that are of vital importance not only to Catholics but to all who have at heart the

welfare of our country. To discuss these matters from a purely philosophical or economic point of view, is both needful and helpful ; but what is still more essential is that they should be viewed in the light of the Christian revelation and adjudicated on the basis of the divine law. Their treatment on this higher plane is entirely in keeping with the position which the writer holds as a churchman and a citizen, and it is all the more practical because it carries thought back from daily experience to the consideration of sound and enduring principles. To the timely choice of subjects there is added a form of presentation which happily combines frequent reference to the history of the world at large with allusions to events and personages that have a special interest for the American reader. By this method of apt illustration, the Cardinal shows how well the most sacred truths can be interwoven with our ordinary mode of thinking and yet retain their value ; or rather, how largely their efficacy depends on the thoroughness with which they are made to permeate all phases of thought and decision and action.

The eloquence of these Sermons is found not in abstruse dissertation on topics far removed from life and its pressing concerns, but in the directness with which they speak to the intelligence and lay hold upon the heart, either in encouragement to the discharge of duty or in warning against dangers that threaten private and public morality. That such an appeal should produce the best results is to be expected from the calm, well-balanced exposition and from the lucidity of style that pervades these discourses. Each sentence indeed brings to view the processes of a mind that sees facts and principles in true perspective and reaches conclusions with the strength of simplicity. What is more significant is the insight which these Sermons afford into a personality which has so long occupied a central position in the religious life of this country. As admonitions to righteous living they offer nothing new to those who have followed the author's priestly career ; they merely transcribe in the form of words the lessons that have been taught in deeds for half a century, and for this transcription clergy and laity alike owe to His Eminence a debt of gratitude.

EDWARD A. PACE.

The Making and Unmaking of a Dullard. By Thomas Edward Shields, Ph. D., LL. D., Associate Professor of Psychology in the Catholic University of America. Washington : The Catholic Education Press, 1909. Pp. 296. Price, \$1.00.

Two of the most important problems before the educator to-day are the treatment of backward pupils and the true meaning and value of manual training. In the book before us these as well as other less important questions of pedagogy are treated in a masterly manner. The peculiar merit of Dr. Shields' discussion of the treatment of defective and backward pupils consists in this : hitherto, the dull pupil has been studied from the outside, the study has been necessarily incomplete and sometimes even misleading, because everyone knows how sensitive the dull pupil is and how unwilling to tell wherein his real defect consists ; in this book the backward pupil is studied for the first time *from within*, he is allowed to speak for himself, and one who can now well afford to confess that he was once enrolled among the dullards is the sympathetic, and at the same time, the discriminating exponent of the claims of our less favored pupils. No teacher can read these pages without coming to the realization that there is here a revelation, a revelation of a world which it is unfortunately the teacher's duty to know, but which very few teachers do know. Catholics have in the past done their share in founding and maintaining institutions for defective children, they are, in our own day, doing their share of this kind of work. It is a pleasure, therefore, to note that the first volume issued from the "Catholic Education Press" is in line with the best traditions of organized Catholic beneficence, while the broad and humane principles which it advocates will find an echo in the heart of every charitable person no matter what his religious creed may be. The psychologist, too, will find here a new point of view for the study of mental growth and development.

The discussion of the question of manual training is also fresh, vigorous, and in a sense that will be best appreciated by educationalists, subversive of many accepted theories. In the past, the home was the great educator, not only in moral and religious matters, as all admit, but, as is here pointed out, in the development of mental power too. The training of senses and muscles which came naturally to the boy or girl in their home life is now, owing to social and economic changes, taken up by the school. But seldom, if ever, does the educational theorist or the teacher realize that far more important

than the preparation for a trade or profession is the other function, the intrinsic educational function, of manual training. Mental growth and development are based largely on sense-training and muscle training. This furnishes the key to the true meaning and value of manual training.

These are the principal topics discussed by Dr. Shields in the work before us, which forms a companion volume to the work on "The Education of Our Girls." The book will be read with interest by every teacher, every student of the theory of education and every social worker, who wishes to profit by the latest and, in our opinion, a most suggestive, study of the problems which command most attention in the educational world to-day.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels. By Dom John Chapman, O. S. B. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. Pp. xi + 299. Price, 16 sh.

All those who are not strangers in the field of higher or literary criticism, readily understand why Pope Pius X, when ordering a new edition of the Vulgate to be undertaken, confided the work to the Benedictine Order. Catholic scholarship thus far has produced nothing that will be more useful for the restoration of St. Jerome's text of the Gospels than these *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* by Dom Chapman, one of those many learned Benedictines, who at the present day are the living Apologetics of the Catholic Church.

No doubt, we cannot contradict the author when he states that the study of the whole of the Bible, in the light of careful collations, is needed for the perfect editing of any part of it. But it certainly is merely a new illustration of the extreme modesty which characterizes the great Benedictine scholars, when, in the Preface, Dom Chapman warns the readers that "this essay does not aim to any form of completeness, and is published only in the hope that it may be found suggestive" (p. i). True, the restoration of St. Jerome's text of the Gospels, based on Dom Chapman's *Notes*, will not differ substantially from the text given us by Wordsworth and White. Literary criticism has reached a stage in which great scholars are able to offer critical editions that will stand the test of all future ages and hardly leave room for still greater perfection. However, as the author himself

very modestly suggests, by the *Notes* of this monk of Erdington Abbey, "in some difficult places the verdict [will] be altered, or (what is just as important) confirmed by stronger reasons" (p. vi). Besides, we, Catholics, will no longer be obliged to admit the superiority of the works of Protestant scholars, in studying the history of the official Bible of the Catholic Church.

It is hard to give a satisfactory review of Dom Chapman's recent book, because "the argument is involved and hard to follow." This statement cannot be construed to be a criticism or reproach. The author himself makes this declaration in the preface (p. vi). From the very nature of the subject which he studies, and of the material with which he has to deal, it could not possibly be otherwise. Moreover, this work supposes so much previous knowledge, that, to follow without much difficulty the author's line of argument, one has to be himself an expert in this special branch of literary criticism and thoroughly acquainted with the history of the Latin editions of the Bible.

The main point at issue is the history of the manuscript that was copied by the author of the *Codex Amiatinus* (A) which, among the extant mss. of the Vulgate, has been recognised as having the purest text. Thus far scholars had succeeded in tracing this famous codex back to Northumbria, and showing that its origin had to be placed at the beginning of the eighth century. It was De Rossi who established the fact that A was written at Yarrow, by order of Ceolfrid, St. Bede's own abbot, and was taken by him to Rome in 715. The great question that was left to be answered still, concerned the origin of the manuscript, or rather of the text itself which, by order of Ceolfrid, was copied in the *Codex Amiatinus*. We need not insist on the importance of this point with regard to the literary relationship between A and St. Jerome's autograph and the authority of A in restoring the original text of the Vulgate Gospels. The great merit of Dom Chapman's present work consists in showing the Cassiodorian origin of the text in question. In our opinion his argument is decisive: he points out that the very peculiar and very artificial order in which Cassiodorus arranged the books of the Bible, is actually found in the *Codex Amiatinus*, and in no other manuscript.

Once we know that the famous Northumbrian codex is a copy of Cassiodorus's Vulgate text, we naturally wish to know the history and origin of this latter text itself. Dom Chapman traces it back to a manuscript that was owned by Eugippius, and he has no difficulty in showing the great probability that Eugippius got it from his friend and

patroness Proba, who was a relation of Cassiodorus and a member of the Anician family at Rome.

St. Jerome published the Vulgate Gospels at Rome in the year 382, only a century before Eugippius. "The Roman grandees to whom St. Jerome was a spiritual father, and especially that Anician family whose greatness he celebrates, will certainly have furnished themselves with copies of the first edition. Nay, to some of them, especially to the great ladies, and doubtless to his friend Proba, the author must have given presentation copies. The later Proba, to whom Eugippius dedicated his principal work and with whom St. Fulgentius corresponded, was of the same Anician gens, which furnished most of the consuls of that day. She was probably closely related (perhaps daughter or sister) to the Probinus who was consul in 489. It is likely that her great library was inherited; and if so, nothing is more natural than that she should have possessed a presentation copy of St. Jerome's Gospels handed down from some ancestor or ancestors who had known Jerome" (p. 42 f.). As a matter of fact, in the old Echternach Codex we are told that the manuscript which he made use of in correcting his own text of the Gospels, was attributed to St. Jerome himself. And "the incomparable excellence of A as a witness to Hieronymian tradition is a very strong confirmation of the truth of that attribution" (p. 43).

Among the many interesting side-questions, dealt with by Dom Chapman, we mention especially his study on the four Prologues. In a paper previously published, and reproduced in chapter XIII of the present volume, the author proved that the Prologues were written by Priscillian. Since they are not only of heretic origin, but moreover contain a heretical doctrine, the Benedictine scholar found it necessary to determine how such heretical documents managed to attach themselves to the Vulgate of St. Jerome and have been so frequently copied. We are told on p. iv, that it was the attempt to solve this problem which, "has produced all the other chapters of this book."

The work is teeming with information on a great number of questions, some of which are perhaps more important still than the problem itself which induced the author to write this book. The book is a great credit to Catholic scholarship.

Les Douze Petits Prophètes, traduits et commentés par A. VAN HOONACKER. Paris, Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1908.

The series of *Études Bibliques*, begun under the inspiration of Père Lagrange, is now enriched by M. van Hoonacker's commentary on the Minor Prophets. Any book bearing the name of the distinguished professor of Louvain carries with it, I need hardly say, a guarantee of thorough workmanship; the present work, a great volume of seven hundred and fifty pages, is a marvel of painstaking, unwearied research. Without any doubt, it will take rank as one of the most important contributions of contemporary Catholic scholarship to Biblical science, not so much because of its originality—though van Hoonacker has won his reputation largely through the originality of his views—as because the labors of innumerable scholars have been here submitted to a careful sifting by a discriminating mind and the residue of assured results presented in a monumental work.

While the Minor Prophets have lately been receiving from scholars much careful attention, they probably remain to a majority of readers, even among men of education the most neglected and obscure portion of the Old Testament. The neglect is owing in part to the unfortunate title under which they have been grouped, which creates, however unreasonably, a presumption against their importance. The truth is that the book of the Minor Prophets, for matter as well as for manner, should receive a very high place among Old Testament writings. Amos is one of the most important figures in the history of the Hebrew religion; Osee a mystic of very deep and tender religious feelings; Nahum, in his short prophecy, shows himself a poet of a wonderful vivid imagination as well as one of the most forceful prophets; Joel, despite his dependence on others, is one of the most sublime; while the little book of Jonas contains the lessons which the Jews needed most to prepare them to accept a universal religion, but which they would not learn. In the force of their moral exhortations and in the sublimity of their doctrine, the Minor Prophets are not often surpassed. The recognition of their greatness has been impeded by the obscurity which envelopes their history and their mission. To place each prophet, and every part of his message, in the fitting historical setting is possible only to those who have an intimate knowledge of six hundred years of Israel's history, with its many intertwinings with secular history.

This great task Biblical scholars have set themselves and have in great part accomplished; this van Hoonacker does most admirably in the present work. One has only to read his introductions to Amos and Osee or to Aggaeus and Zacharias, in order to see the clear light of history in which these prophets now stand. Each of the twelve books is taken up in turn, its contents analyzed, its historical setting and general import indicated, its authenticity and literary qualities discussed and the special questions each involves treated; then follows a commentary in which the various questions of textual, literary and historical criticism are discussed in sufficiently full measure to enable the writer to give us an excellent idea of the prophet's message. He lays much stress on textual questions, in which he shows himself far less ready to depart from the text or to suspect interpolations than, for instance, Harper in his *Amos and Hosea*. He is grateful for the help which the study of the strophe has afforded to the reconstruction of the text; but he believes that too much arbitrariness has been exercised in rehandling the text to suit the exigencies of preconceived metrical theories, while he is yet hopeful of further trustworthy results.

The same conservative spirit is manifested in his adhesion, in general, to traditional ascriptions of authorship, in a reluctance to see the work of different hands in the one book. This is most remarkable in the case of the book of Zacharias, the second part of which, against the consent of nearly all critics, he ascribes to that prophet, though not without hesitation. His exposition here is very complicated and his arguments will need strengthening before that consensus is broken. In interpretation we find him more frequently in agreement with authors of to-day. He rightly rejects, however, the exaggerated praise which it is now fashionable to bestow on Amos and Osee as innovators in Israel, since it is plain the prophets themselves made their appeal on the ground of truths forgotten and scorned of the people, not unknown and novel; and he gives a larger place to the Messianic element than is agreeable to the schools dominant to-day outside the Church. While recognizing the quasi-Messianic office ascribed by Aggaeus and Zacharias to Zorobabel, he insists that the same office was to be shared, in their eyes, by Josue the high priest, but that the prophecies looked beyond them to a distant date for their perfect fulfillment. He accumulates the numerous objections brought

against the historical character of the book of Jonas, the least of which is on the score of the miraculous events it narrates; but he finds them misdirected, since the work was never intended to teach history, but its story so framed, he holds, as best to convey the great moral lessons it contains. He finds insuperable objections to the view which regards the book as an allegory of Israel's history. He puts it among the last, in time, of the prophetic writings; in character its place is near Tobias. Joel, which critics have assigned to every place from the earliest to the latest, is by van Hoonacker ascribed to the very last place among the prophets. He has, we think, put almost beyond doubt the frequent dependence of Joel on other writings and his true position as a forerunner of the apocalyptic school. The marriage of Osee is regarded as symbolic. The tiny book of Abdias is the subject of a long discussion. He upholds its unity and dates it in its entirety after the exile, about the year 500. The knotty question of its relation to Jeremias XLIX is solved by admitting that v. 6 is a reminiscence of Jeremias XLIX, 10. The perception of the resemblance here led a later scribe to insert a modification of a passage in Abdias, which is undoubtedly original, into the work of his great predecessor.

We can give in a review but little idea of the riches of this work, which abounds in precious materials for the historian and the theologian. The numberless questions it touches upon are treated in a straightforward, sound and sober manner, in the unflinching spirit of a true scholar and loyal son of the Church. It is a great achievement to have given us a commentary that is not unworthy of so important, so extensive and so difficult a portion of Holy Scripture.

JOHN F. FENLON.

Las Religiosas segun la disciplina vigente. Sus Confesores ; Cuenta de Conciencia ; Clausura ; Votos ; Eleccion de Superiores. Por J. B. Ferreres, S. J. Tercera edicion. Madrid: Administracion de Razón y Fe, 1908.

The reader will be disappointed who turns to this book expecting to find therein a systematic treatment of the law governing congregations or orders composed of women. In fact, the purpose of the author, as indicated in the sub-title, is rather to discuss some of the more im-

portant questions bearing on this law. With the same method and erudition which have won for his other works so favorable a reception, he treats at length of confessors of religious communities of women, the account of conscience, the law of enclosure, the preliminary simple vows professed in religious orders, the election of superioresses. The appearance of a third edition is evidence of the timeliness and value of these essays.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Les Fiançailles et le Mariage. Discipline Actuelle. Par Lucien Choupin, S. J. Paris, Beauchesne, 1908.

Los Esponsales y el Matrimonio segun la Novisima Disciplina. Por J. B. Ferreres, S. J. Tercera edition. Madrid: Administracion de Razón y Fe, 1908.

The New Matrimonial Legislation. By C. J. Cronin, D. D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1908.

These three works must be ranked among the best commentaries that have appeared on the decree *Ne Temere*. Father Choupin and Father Ferreres have an advantage over Monsignor Cronin inasmuch as they write in the light not only of the original law but also of all the explanatory decisions given by the Congregation of the Council down to July 27, 1908, whereas Monsignor Cronin carries us only to February 1, 1908; but this advantage, real enough at a time when the law is receiving authoritative interpretation, can be easily overcome in a second edition.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Messianic Philosophy, an historical and critical examination of the evidence for the Existence, Death, Resurrection, Ascension and Divinity of Jesus Christ, by Gideon W. B. Marsh, B. A. (London), F. R. Hist. Soc. Sands & Co., London and Edinburgh. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1908. Pp. xvii + 180, 8°. \$1.00.

Messianic Philosophy places before the reader a portion of the evidence which establishes the Divinity of Jesus Christ. It singles out the Resurrection as the supreme apologetic fact and inquires into the evidence on which our belief in the event is based. That Christ did rise is shown primarily from the existence of Christianity. What

account does Christianity give of its origin? But one, that its Founder rose from the dead. Following this line of argument the contemporary and subsequent Christian and non-Christian writers are cited as confirmatory witnesses, and then only is the value of the New Testament proofs examined. The author does not mention the Gospel according to the Hebrews nor the Gospel of Peter among the early writings, neither does he treat the theory of Pauline influence. In the solution of difficulties he resorts frequently to harmonistic interpretation. His method, however, is historical and critical, and his presentation is clear and convincing. The volume is one of a series, entitled *Expository Essays in Christian Philosophy*, edited by the Rev. Francis Aveling, D. D.

P. ALOYSIUS MENGES, O. S. B.

Die Evangelien und die Evangelienkritik der akademischen Jugend und den Gebildeten aller Stände gewidmet von Dr. J. Schäfer, Professor der Theologie am Priesterseminar in Mainz. Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder, 1908. 8 . pp. 124.

The composition, credibility and interdependence of the four Gospels are questions which have received unceasing attention ever since criticism has brought them to the front. The present little work does not intend to set forth any new opinions ; its purpose is to give a short outline of the leading theories, and to acquaint the Catholic reader with the chief arguments which secure his position against the attacks of the advanced school of liberal thought. Of the seven chapters one is introductory ; four are devoted to the discussion of the authorship of the Gospels, the time and place of their composition, and their integrity ; the remaining two deal with the synoptic problem and the reliability of the Evangelists as witnesses of the facts related. Dr. Schäfer's presentation is precise and clear. He attempts to give no more than a resumé, and consequently exception cannot be taken to the summary manner in which he disposes of some hypotheses that would ordinarily demand more consideration. The erroneous conclusions of Modernist and non-Catholic scholars are happily characterized as the result of false philosophical presuppositions and not of critical method.

P. ALOYSIUS MENGES, O. S. B.

Kardinal Wilhelm Sirlets Annotationen zum Neuen Testament.

Eine Verteidigung der Vulgata gegen Valla und Erasmus nach ungedruckten Quellen bearbeitet von P. Hildebrand Höpf, O. S. B. (*Biblische Studien*, xiii Band, 2 Heft.) Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1908. 8°, pp. x + 126.

Cardinal Sirlet's activity in the revision of the Vulgate and in the reform of the Breviary and Missal is well known, not so the existence of the Annotations to the New Testament which came from his pen. These were compiled to vindicate the correctness of the reading furnished by St. Jerome's translation, especially in those cases where Valla and Erasmus had unjustly or needlessly criticized the accepted Latin rendering and rejected it in favor of a less accurate text. Dom Höpf's study makes this work known to the public. He traces the causes which led to its composition, describes its character, and gives numerous extracts to illustrate the methods of the composer. To sound judgment Sirlet joined an extensive knowledge of Patristic literature. He had at his command some of the most reliable of the ancient manuscripts, notably the Codex Bezae and the Vaticanus, which latter he ascribed to the ninth century. The inaccuracies and shortcomings of his work are due mainly to the contemporary status of critical science and not to the lack of individual scholarship. His tendency is strictly conservative and causes him to defend warmly every disputed passage of the New Testament, among these also the famous Comma Joanneum. Dom Höpf's study manifests a slight inclination to be over severe with Erasmus. It displays care and exactness, and forms an interesting contribution to the history of the Vulgate in the sixteenth century.

P. ALOYSIUS MENGES, O. S. B.

Have Anglicans Full Catholic Privileges? By E. H. Francis.

New York: Benziger, 1907. 12mo, 77 pp.

The title of this little volume is not an exact indication of its contents. To solve the question whether Anglicans have full Catholic privileges, one would need to find out whether the Church of England possesses a true ministerial priesthood and dispenses validly the seven sacraments. The author does not enter into this field of investigation. His object is rather to show that the ritualist party, while adopting almost the whole range of Catholic doctrine, and while professing the

name of Catholic, cannot with consistency continue to form part of the Church of England, whose official teaching and practice are a denial of fundamental Catholic principles. He shows this in the attitude of the Church of England towards the Catholic conception of the Real Presence, of the sacrifice of the Mass, of sacramental confession, and of infallible authority. It is a useful little work for Anglicans moving Romewards. Too much stress is laid at times on minor differences of discipline. The author might well have summed up his argument in a terse, effective conclusion.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

La Crédibilité et l'Apologétique: par A. Gerdeil, O. P. Paris, Gabalda et Cie., 1908. 12mo., 299 pp.

The act of faith is something more than the mere conclusion of a syllogism. Yet the act of faith is a rational act, and is justified by reasons so cogent as to make unbelief unreasonable and culpable. It is these grounds, strongly inviting but not compelling belief, that constitute the credibility of the Christian, Catholic religion. In the present work, the author, with St. Thomas as his guide, analyzes the notion of credibility, showing its genesis in the act of faith, its several degrees and characteristics, its scientific demonstration, and, where this is deficient in some classes of believers, the supplementary motives that come into play to make it effective. This leads him to discuss the proper scope of apologetics, whose object is to set forth the credibility of the Christian religion as embodied in the Catholic Church, and to lead the inquiring mind to the act of faith. Subjective apologetics, he finds, has a certain supplementary value in preparing the mind for the act of faith, but cannot stand independently, as a fit and exclusive substitute for traditional, rational apologetics. He has an interesting chapter on the most effective ways of bringing to active life the half-dead, half-dormant faith of certain minds, who through invincible ignorance or invincible doubt have lost the power to exercise the faith implanted in them by baptism.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Lourdes, a History of its Apparitions and Cures. By George Bertrin. Authorized translation by Mrs. Philip Gibbs. New York: Benziger, 1908. 8vo, xiv + 296 pp.

Fifty years have passed since the simple, unlettered child of

Lourdes, Bernadette Soubirous, at the bidding of the radiant apparition, which she declared she saw in the neighboring grotto, scooped up the soil with her hand and thereby started the spring whose waters were destined to bring relief and healing to so many sufferers. Through the instrumentality of that humble girl, Lourdes has risen out of obscurity into a far famed place of pilgrimage. To its grotto and to its magnificent basilica, raised by loving hands to the honor of our Immaculate Mother, more than a million visitors are attracted every year, some out of curiosity, many out of devotion, many others in the hope of getting relief from their maladies. The number of minor cures that have rewarded pilgrimages to Lourdes is very large. But more remarkable by far is the number of healings that have no parallel in the history of medical science. Up to the year 1903, the medical bureau at Lourdes, charged with the rigid scrutiny of extraordinary cures, reported upwards of 3350 cases that deserved to be called miraculous.

Few stories are more interesting, none more inspiring, than the story of Lourdes,—its sudden leap to prominence on account of the apparitions, its public pilgrimages made up in large part of wretched invalids, the heroic charity there displayed by Catholic men and women, who give their services gratuitously to the afflicted, the intense fervor of piety shown by those who take part in the religious processions and other ceremonies, the unspeakable joy following a sudden cure. The story has been told by several able writers, by Dr. Henry Lasserre, by Dr. Boiserie, by Father Clarke and others, but by none, perhaps, with such engaging interests as by George Bertrin, in his *Histoire critique des événements de Lourdes*, first published in 1903 and now reprinted in its fifteenth edition. With an easy, graceful style, he treats, in the first part, of the origin and development of the devotion to our Lady of Lourdes, her apparitions to little Bernadette, the artless, transparent character of this simple child, whose sincerity and persistence overcame all opposition, and whose sober, practical piety as a religious sister in after years excluded the suspicion that she had been the victim of hallucination.

In the second part, he tells of the wonderful cures that have been wrought at Lourdes, the reality of which is vouched for by the highest form of scientific testimony. He runs over the various attempts to explain them on natural grounds, especially on the ground of hypnotism, or of autosuggestion. Finding all these explanations inadequate, he draws the conclusion that they can be accounted for only by the special intervention of God, in a word, that they are miraculous. He

then cites, by way of illustration, a number of striking cases,—that of Peter de Rudder, whose broken leg, suppurating for months from the diseased bones that refused to knit, was instantly and permanently made whole; that of Madame Rouchel, instantly cured of a horrible lupus, that had eaten a hole through her cheek and nearly destroyed her palate; that of Gabriel Gargam, whose spine had been so injured in a railroad accident that he was hopelessly paralyzed and reduced to a mere skeleton, and who was suddenly restored to health and strength when let down into the font at Lourdes. Each of these episodes is related with great skill and dramatic power. Scarcely less interesting is his account of Zola's stay at Lourdes, and of the manner in which the author of the novel "Lourdes" misrepresented the nature of the wonderful cures that were brought to his notice. The hollowness of his pretence to write in the form of a novel a faithful portraiture of Lourdes is clearly shown by Bertrin's sketch of the original characters, most of whom are still living.

Such is the work which is now offered to the public in English dress, constituting volume XIII of the *International Catholic Library*. Like the original, it is illustrated with pictures of the Grotto, of Bernadette as she looked in the year 1858, and among others, of Madame Rouchel and Gabriel Gargam. The translator, Mrs. Gibbs, has in the main, given a faithful and readable rendering of the original. Here and there, in aiming at colloquial expressions, she has shot beyond the mark, as when on page 153, the sentence, "je croirais qu'il se joue de moi," is translated, "I should think he was pulling my leg." "J'ignore" she wrongly renders, "I ignore," on page 57. Then there are a few flaws for which the printer is responsible. Thus on page 65, one finds the phrase, "to rectify the decision of the bishop of Tarbes." The manuscript must have read, ratify, to correspond with the French text, "pour ratifier la décision." A more glaring error is to be found on page 70, where it is stated that the combined public pilgrimages to Lourdes in the year 1857-1903 numbered 387,000 pilgrims. The number in the original is 3,817,000. On page 202, is mentioned "the never-to-be-forgotten sight." Even if correctly printed, this epithet could hardly be called elegant.

English readers have reason to be grateful to the editor of the *International Catholic Library* for this fine volume.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

INSTALLATION OF THE PRO-RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

On Thursday, February 25th, at half-past eleven o'clock, the Ceremony of Installation of the Pro-Rector of the University took place in the Assembly Room of MacMahon Hall. There were present His Eminence, the Chancellor, Bishop D. J. O'Connell, the retiring Rector, Very Reverend T. J. Shahan, D. D., the Pro-Rector, the members of the various Faculties, the Heads of the University Colleges, the students, clerical and lay, of the University and many members of the local clergy.

The proceedings opened with an address by Bishop O'Connell, who said, in part:

Your Eminence, though I realize that my term of office is now about to expire I am not tempted to eulogize either directly or indirectly my administration. I leave it there to stand or fall on its merits. What was uppermost in my mind was that I tried to do my duty, and I find in that conviction my sweetest remembrance of the years I have spent as rector of the Catholic University of America. I am not conscious of having wronged any man; if inadvertently I wounded the feelings of anyone I now ask his pardon.

The burden of this office I lay down without much regret, rather perhaps with a sense of relief; at the same time I tender to my successor my hearty congratulation on his nomination, and my best wishes for a successful administration. He knows the University well; he loves it truly, and he has served it faithfully. As you well know, this is a pontifical University, that is, it was founded primarily by the Holy See. In the fourth chapter of the Gospel of St. John the men of Samaria said to the woman at the well regarding our Saviour: "Now we believe, not because of thy saying; for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Savior of the world." When a young student at Rome one of my dear old professors was wont to impress on our minds the necessity of the Holy See

for the existence and welfare of Catholicism. Could I again see this beloved teacher I would say to him: "Professor, I now believe what you said through my own experience. I have learnt that the primacy of Peter is the immovable foundation of the Church, the living source of its growth and of perfection in its work." What I have learned in a fairly long life-time of varied activities and experiences seems to me only more admirably exemplified in this pontifical University. In the past the Holy See has always lovingly protected it and I know that in the future the University will receive from the same supreme quarter a direction based on that prudence, justice, and moderation which have always characterized the Roman Church.

In particular I seize this opportunity to thank the present Apostolic Delegate for his never-ending courtesy, good will, support, and wise counsels. I bear witness that he has at all times been a true friend to the Catholic University of America, and it gives me great pleasure to add here my gratitude for the many acts of personal kindness which I have received from him.

Your Eminence: While during my administration I may possibly have occasionally tried your patience a little, I now say that from the beginning to the end of my administration I never received from you anything but words of kindness and consolation to which were added those of wisdom, and you have been in the most literal sense of the word my counsellor, and I declare it is to you I owe whatever little success my administration may be credited with. You are surrounded as with a halo by the admiration and love of the American people that will follow you wherever you go. May you ever remain with a calm peace of soul which you so highly prize and may you live to see a very large measure of success for this grand institution of learning that is already in my mind infinitely indebted to you. To the professors of the various faculties and officers of the University I return my thanks for their kind support and regard with pleasure the many happy days I have spent with the students of the University. Though I may have been called upon from time to time to enforce discipline here and

there, however my memories of the student body are in every way pleasant and agreeable. My relations with the Presidents and students of the affiliated Colleges were at all times pleasant in the extreme and I hope the Divine Providence will give great blessings upon these favorite houses of piety and learning. I bear willing witness to the success of Albert College under its present management. I am particularly grateful that during my administration the Catholic University has continued to hold its place as the head of all the Catholic Educational Association in our country and that some useful steps have been taken to arrange more securely their moral headship and leadership. I could not bring these remarks to a close without expressing my sincere thanks to my dear friend and faithful secretary, Rev. George A. Dougherty, for the sympathy and efficient service which he has at all times rendered me.

Dear Friends: With these few words I take leave of you and at the same time assure you all a very hearty welcome if ever you come to the lovely land of California, whither Divine Providence is now calling me.

Very Rev. Dr. Shahan then addressed the meeting:

Your Eminence:—

In your person I have to thank the Holy See for the signal honor it has conferred upon the professors of this University by calling one of them to the provisional government of this great school. I beg you to assure the Holy Father that while I hold this office I shall do my best to merit his approval by an administration in keeping with the constitutions of the University, the instructions of the Holy See, and the directions of the Board of Trustees.

I have also to thank yourself for the kind words of direction and encouragement you have always spoken to us. As chancellor of this pontifical institution you have at all times manifested unfailing interest in its progress; and if to-day its work is going forward without loss or diminution, it is largely due to the generosity and zeal with which, through all its vicissitudes, you have furthered these sacred interests. Be assured,

Your Eminence, that in the future as in the past, we shall cherish the direction of so exalted a prince of Holy Church, a bishop so benevolent and experienced, and a citizen so universally esteemed and beloved. May your days among us be yet numerous, and your coming years be surrounded on all sides with an abundance of peace! The task which you have committed to me is in itself and at any time no slight burden. Leo XIII in founding the University set forth in unmistakable terms its high purpose and the specific task that lay before it as an exponent and defender of Catholic truth. Pius X has made known, in terms no less explicit, the aims which it has to pursue and the spirit which should pervade its work. More than once, the Delegates of the Apostolic See have manifested the desire that this centre of learning should spread its influence throughout the land and quicken with new energy every part of our educational system. To fulfil these ideals in even a modest measure demands qualities of mind and heart not often found in the same individual, taking it for granted that sufficient material means and opportunities are forthcoming. For myself I may say in a small way, with Saint Paul: "I can do all things in Him who strengtheneth me." I pray ardently that the Holy Spirit of Wisdom, whose peculiar work this University is, will not entirely desert me, but will aid me sweetly and mightily, and enable me to hand over to my successor this sacred trust safe and undiminished, and it may be even richer and larger. If love for this Catholic University and a fixed confidence in its future are a valuable asset for the head of this work, then indeed am I rich and independent, for it is my firm persuasion that this great central institution, surrounded already by a noble cordon of colleges belonging to various religious orders and congregations, is destined one day to shine amid the most successful educational works of the New World as Catholic Paris and Oxford once shone in the Christendom of Europe. From the Catholic point of view our very trials are a prophecy of the future and a stepping-stone to higher things. In the primary school of youth and inexperience we have already learned some lessons that we are not likely to

forget; others have been purchased dearly enough in the higher school of adversity. We all believe firmly that if God had not really loved a work on which have been centered so many high hopes, and for which have been made so many costly sacrifices, He would not have so steadily sifted us like wheat or driven us so long through the furnace of tribulation.

To my predecessor in this arduous and delicate office, I extend the appreciation of all grateful hearts in this University. The rich qualities of mind and heart that in the first years of his priesthood he brought to the epoch-making work of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, and later to the peaceful and regular development of the American College at Rome, were here consumed, to no small extent, in financial trials and in difficulties not easily appreciated by the ordinary observer. It ought never be forgotten that we are in great measure indebted to his zeal for the indispensable Annual Collection of about one hundred thousand dollars which, with the approval of the Holy See, the hierarchy of this country has magnanimously allowed and the Catholic people have generously contributed during the past six years. With uncommon prudence, and with great patience and charity, he has worked among us during the period of his rectorate. Without doubt he has not only held the tiller firmly and true in a great storm, but he has also laid the foundations and prepared the ground on which his successors may perhaps raise a noble edifice. Under his administration our finances have been restored to a healthy condition, nearly seven hundred thousand dollars have been invested anew for the support of this work, while about one million five hundred thousand dollars have been received and accounted for. In these years two new colleges have been opened while two others are contemplated and land has already been purchased for them. An undergraduate course for lay students has also been opened and promises excellent results. Various reforms and improvements, approved by the University authorities, have been regularly executed. During his administration efficient aid has been rendered to every large interest or movement which tends to the betterment of Catholic education. The

Catholic Educational Association, in particular, now a well-known feature of our public religious life, is deeply indebted to him for its existence, and for the enthusiasm which its annual meetings call forth in various parts of our beloved country. All these, and other merits which shall be nameless, it is my duty to acknowledge on the eve of his departure from us to take up the duties of a bishop in one of the greatest of our American Sees. I thank him in the name of the University for all that he has accomplished, and I wish him every blessing in the new field of labor to which the Holy See has assigned him.

To the professors of the University and its students let me say that I hope we shall be able to work together for the common good. Our strength lies in unity of minds and hearts. Given that unity, this great work, now nearing the close of the first generation that saw it arise; this noble enterprise, at once religious and patriotic, is sure to respond fully to the hopes and the ideals of the good and brave men who began it with so much ardor and confidence.

The ceremonies concluded with an address by His Eminence, the Chancellor:

Dear Monsignor O'Connell: I cannot conceal from you and from all those present the deep regret which I feel at your departure from this great school of learning. Your administration of affairs in this University has been marked by singular progress and prosperity. Only our Father in Heaven knows how many adversities we had to meet in the early period of your Rectorate. When you first came to this University our financial condition was most deplorable, and overwhelming disaster fell upon us owing to the failure of our treasurer. Your situation was very difficult in those days. Our funds had disappeared, and our credit was at a low ebb. But, thanks to the goodness of God, our financial condition was soon changed from total ruin to comparative prosperity. Some statistics have already been quoted in evidence of this

successful restoration of the University finances. It gives me great pleasure also to know that the number of students has increased in a notable manner and that we now have more than at any period in our history. I delight also to note the happy relations that exist between the University and the excellent Religious Communities that surround it, even as daughters gather about a mother. These Colleges filled with devoted teachers and ardent novice-students, are a great consolation to me and an admirable solution of the problem how best to combine the activities of the secular and religious clergy. To the entire University, Professors and Students I recommend with all my heart the new Pro-Rector. Dr. Shahan is one of the oldest men of the Professorial Corps, which the Holy See has done great honor by nominating him to this important office. He is well known to all of us, and I may speak of the very great love for this Catholic University which he has always manifested by word and deed. Nor need I remind you of his laborious life and the high esteem in which he is held by all members of the Academic profession. To the professors in particular let me say that without their coöperation the best equipped head can accomplished nothing. It is therefore from the very depths of my heart that I implore them to unite with Dr. Shahan in every effort to fulfill the original purpose of this Catholic University and to make it one day the perfect institution of learning which its founder intended it should be. Again I say to all of the professors, be united among yourselves and labor with all possible zeal and earnestness for the welfare of this great school. It is a holy and religious charge the Hierarchy of this country commits to your keeping. In you they repose all confidence for the moral and intellectual formation of the students whom they send here or encourage to come here. What better proof of this confidence could they give than the \$100,000. which they annually collect from our good Catholic people for the continuance and perfection of this splendid enterprise? Nor could we possibly give greater delight to the members of the Hierarchy than to know that the entire teaching body of the Catholic University was working

like one man, with one mind and one heart with great singleness of purpose, with utter unselfishness, under one strong intelligent and loving impulse. Unite, therefore, together in one accord; labor together with all your zeal and perseverance. Surely if you exhibit before the Catholic world this "*Unio Animorum*," this affectionate blending of hearts, you will draw down the blessing of God upon yourself individually and on this institution of learning. You will also gladden the heart of an old man who has loved and still loves very deeply the Catholic University of America and hopes to see it eventually lifted to the very first rank among the educational establishments of our great American Fatherland. May the blessing of God descend upon you all, professors and students and remain with you forever.

After the ceremonies in MacMahon Hall, the Chancellor, the Apostolic Delegate, the Pro-Rector, Bishop O'Connell, the Faculties, Heads of Colleges, and many distinguished guests were entertained at dinner in Caldwell Hall.

THE PRO-RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Thomas Joseph Shahan, son of Maurice Peter Shahan and Mary Anne Carmody, was born in Manchester, New Hampshire, September 11, 1857. His parents soon removed to Millbury, Mass., where he was brought up and received his early education in the public schools of that village. At the age of fifteen he was sent to Montreal College, Montreal, Canada. Here, under the direction of the Sulpician Fathers, he completed a classical education from 1872 to 1878. In the latter year Bishop Galberry of the Hartford diocese sent him to the American College at Rome where he studied theology for four years. Among his masters in that science was the present Cardinal Francesco Satolli, Prefect of the Congregation of Studies and Arch-Priest of Saint John Lateran. On June 3, 1882, the young ecclesiastic was ordained to the priesthood at Saint John Lateran's by Cardinal Monaco La Valletta, then Cardinal Vicar for Leo XIII. Before his ordination he passed successfully the examination for the degree of Doctor of Theology. On his return Doctor Shahan was appointed by Bishop McMahon as curate at Saint John's Church, New Haven, where he remained the greater part of a year, and among other duties was charged with the spiritual care of the Italian population. In July, 1883, he was appointed by Bishop McMahon his secretary and chancellor, and held that office until the Fall of 1888. During that period he organized the diocesan chancery, assisted in the building of the new cathedral, and bore a part of the ordinary parochial administration. In the Summer of 1888 he was invited by Bishop (now Archbishop) Keane to join the teaching staff of the projected Catholic University at Washington and went abroad in the Fall of that year for purposes of study until the University should have been actually organized. Doctor Shahan was at first destined to teach Canon Law, but while abroad was requested to take up instead the teaching of Ecclesiastical History and to direct his studies accordingly.

At Rome he took the degree of Licentiate in Canon and Civil Law (J. U. L.) and had among his masters Professors Sebastianelli, Giustini, Latini, and Gianlorenzo. From Rome he went to the University of Berlin where he devoted two years to historical study, chiefly introduction to history, the auxiliary sciences, etc., acquiring at the same time a knowledge of the German tongue. Among his masters at Berlin were Professors Wattenbach, Loewenfeld, Scheffer-Boichorst, and Jastrow. From Berlin he went to Paris where he studied at the Institut Catholique and at the New Sorbonne under the direction of Professor Louis Duchesne, the distinguished editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*, and director of the French School of History and Archæology at Rome.

Doctor Shahan returned to his native country in the Fall of 1891 and began at once his work as ordinary professor of Church History and Patrology, which position he has ever since occupied. For several years he also conducted courses in the Law School of the University on the history and elements of the Roman Law, besides helping to fill out, on occasion, a vacancy in the Chair of Canon Law. In 1895 Doctor Shahan founded, with other professors the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY BULLETIN, and since then has remained in charge of that publication as its chief editor. During the eighteen years of his professorial life, Doctor Shahan has constantly responded to the calls of various Catholic bodies for help in the shape of lectures, sermons, discourses, summer-school teaching, and the like. Not unfrequently also he has contributed to the pages of various Catholic and non-Catholic periodical publications. Some of the above mentioned work has appeared in the volumes entitled: "The Beginnings of Christianity" (New York, Benziger, 1903); "The Middle Ages" (New York, Benziger, 1904); "The House of God" (Cathedral Library Association, New York, 1905). Doctor Shahan is also the author of "The Blessed Virgin in the Catacombs" (Baltimore, John Murphy, 1892); "Giovanni Battista De Rossi" (New York, 1900); "Saint Patrick in History" (New York, Longmans, 1902), and "The Heart of

Acadie, or Notes of a Northern Summer" (*The Ave Maria*, Notre Dame, Ind., 1901, 1902). He has also lectured on the history of education in the Catholic University Institute of Pedagogy, New York, 1902-3. His latest work is a translation from the German of Bardenhewer's "Manual of Patrology" (Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis, 1898, pp. 680), for the use of Catholic ecclesiastical seminaries and other houses of theological study. Since the end of 1904 Doctor Shahan has been one of the five Editors who have undertaken the publication of the voluminous international work of reference known as *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, of which four volumes have already appeared and the fifth is on the point of publication. He is also one of the original board of judges for the Hall of Fame, University Heights, New York.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Albert College.—The Rt. Rev. Monsignor Lavelle of New York, one of the trustees of the University, has presented Albert Hall with a complete outfit of vestments, linens and necessities for the Altar.

The large frame building back of McMahon Hall is now fitted up for the use of the Athletic Association. Basketball and indoor baseball practice are expected to put the young men in fine shape for the athletic season which opens March 20th, with baseball at Georgetown.